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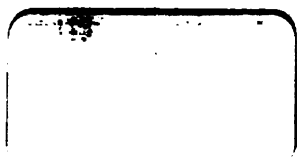
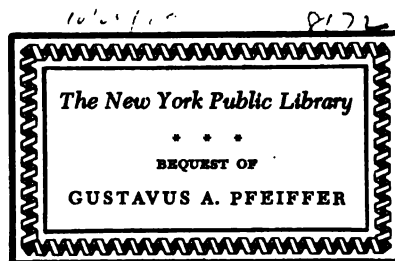
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Manuscript 1711.



"EDWARD IV. VISITING CAXTON'S PRINTING OFFICE AT WESTMINSTER, 1471." FROM THE PICTURE BY DANIEL MACLISE, R.A.

Mr. W. S. Branch writes in reference to Caxton's "Game and Playe of the Chesse": "Certain chapters describe the chessboard and the chess pieces with their names and powers as known in Western Europe and Italy in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries. The chess rules as described were legal in England in Caxton's time, but the new or Italian kind of chess came into fashion soon after, and within a century developed into chess as we now know it, less our greater knowledge of the openings, and with differences for a time as to the effect of stalemate and Pawn promotion. The chess described by Cesolis and Caxton was 'old chess'—the Queen could only move one square at a time, diagonally, and the Bishops but two, with the power of jumping over a piece in the way. 'Castling' was not known, but the King could leap as a Kt or move as any one of his pieces—three square only—once in each game. From this rule our 'Castling' arose. It is the King's leap over a Rook, after the Rook has moved up to the King. Formerly the process required two moves—it is done in one to save time. The King's leap as a Knight remained legal till about 1680. It was found inferior from the play point of view to Castling in one move, and became illegal from long disuse among good players."—"Morning Post."

C. 1. 1907.

Chess Books.

Mr. Leonard P. Bees, writing on chess books, remarks:—"It is curious to note that in 1787 the British Museum Library had only one book on chess, 'De Ludis Orientalibus,' by the Rev. Dr. Thomas Hyde—a book printed in 1694." Mr. Bees also suggests that the honour of publishing the largest chess book belongs to Lolli, whose "Osservationi," was published at Bologna in 1763." Twiss, writing in 1787, remarked "This is the most formidable chess book I have seen, being a folio of 623 pages." Walker, in 1832, called it "the most classical work on chess extant." The smallest chess book, Mr. J. G. White thinks, is an edition of Vida, published at Rudolphopolis, in 1820.

Chess Book Worth £1,000.

Referring to the price (£28) asked for a copy of the first edition of "The Pleasaunt and Writte Play of the Cheasts Renewed" (reviewed), Mr. W. S. Branch remarks: "This was the second English 'chess book,' and the first to give all the moves as they are now—except as to Castling. It is very rare, and the price asked is very moderate, in these days of American millionaires buying up all the European rarities they can get hold of. Copies of Caxton's 'Games of Chess'—the first printed English chess book, chiefly filled with stories and moralisings, but containing also a clear account of the moves of the pieces in and before the time of printing (1474)—are worth from £500 to £1,000 or more, according to condition. This book (first edition) was one of the first two books printed in the English language, but it was not printed in England: it was in Flanders, in the city of Bruges."

RARE TREASURE IN HUTH COLLECTION

Four Thousand Books, Pamphlets and Manuscripts to Go on Market

Valuable Editions for Shakespeare Scholars and Caxtons and Illuminated Works Among Them

Special Cable to The Inquirer, Copyright, 1912, by the New York Herald Company.

LONDON, May 11.—The dispersal of the second portion of the Huth collection will begin on June 5, and will bring about four thousand books, pamphlets and manuscripts before the market. Among the buyers who have competed in previous portions of this sale Mr. Quaritch has proved the most assiduous purchaser, \$180,000 being the total of his bidding, against \$10,000 to \$15,000 bid by any of his competitors.

The books dealing with America form a striking series, and it is appropriate that there should be two extraordinarily rare imprints of the first and second editions of the letters of Columbus to Luis de Santtangel, in 1493. Of even greater importance is the wonderful collection of De Byr's "Voyages to America," and the "Voyages to the East Indies," in twelve Latin and thirteen German parts. In the first 1590 tract of these is a reference to Virginia. There are numerous books on Drake's voyages, and black letter broadsides in Dutch of the early Seventeenth Century connected with the West Indies and South America, two being euphemistically entitled "Englischer Bickelhering," or "English Pickle-Herring."

For Shakespearean Students

Works interesting to students of Shakespeare are numerous. There is Lady Elizabeth Carew's 1613 "Tragedy of Mariam, the Faire Queen of Jewry," referred to "Troilus and Cressida." There is a first edition of William Cartwright's "Comedies," which recalls that in his "Eulogy of Fletcher" he put Shakespeare below him.

The collection provides an excessively rare first edition of the "Divine Commedia," 1472, equaled only by the copy in the British Museum, and there is another with the nineteen engravings by Paccio Baldini, after the Botticelli drawings for the "Inferno." Among a numerous Cervantes section is a first issue of the first part of the 1606 Madrid "Don Quixote." A great prize, too, is the 1312 earliest edition of the Seville "Chronicle of the Cid," and ever rarer is the Barcelona "Consultat," printed about 1484.

Other Rare Books

Among other books of great rarity and worth there are, of course, the Caxtons. Only two perfect copies of the 1481 "Game and Play of Chess" are known, one at Trinity, Cambridge, and the other at Chatsworth. The Huth example has a page in facsimile. In 1491 "Chastening of God's Children," of which only five other perfect copies are known, is now ascribed to the press of Wynken de Worde. Next comes the 1478 "Canterbury Tales," with various facsimile leaves, only two perfect copies being collated. Then there is a perfect 1489 "Christine de Pisan," a wonderful example of 1481 "Cicero" and a fine stall copy of the 1849 "Doctrinal of Sapience."

As for the few illuminated manuscripts appearing, there is an exquisite French

CAXTON'S
GAME OF CHESSE.

FACSIMILE.

(Only 80 copies on sale.)

The Game of Chess

BY

William Caxton.

A FAC-SIMILE REPRODUCTION OF THE FIRST WORK PRINTED IN ENGLAND,
FROM THE COPY IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



LONDON:

TRÜBNER AND CO., 60, PATERNOSTER ROW,

1862.

794.0921
C338 g

THE PUBLISHERS' ADVERTISEMENT.

"The name of Caxton, like the names of many other good and respectable men, would have held no place in the memory of the world but for the art he learnt in his latter years. Cologne rendered the name of Caxton a bright and venerable name;—a name that even his countrymen, who are accustomed chiefly to raise monuments and statues to the warlike defenders of their country, will one day honour amongst the heroes who have most successfully cultivated the arts of peace, and by high talent and patient labour have rendered it impossible that mankind should not steadily advance in the acquisition of knowledge and virtue, and in the consequent amelioration of the lot of every member of the family of mankind, at some period, present or remote."—"CAXTON," A BIOGRAPHY, BY CHARLES KNIGHT.

FREQUENTLY as we read of the works of Caxton, and the early English Printers, and of their Black Letter Books, very few persons have ever had the opportunity of seeing any of these productions, and forming a proper estimate of the ingenuity and skill of those who first practised the "Noble Art of Printing."

This reproduction of the first work printed by Caxton at Westminster, containing TWENTY-THREE WOODCUTS, is intended, in some measure, to supply this deficiency, and bring the present age into somewhat greater intimacy with *the Father of English Printers*. The Type has been carefully imitated, and the cuts traced from the copy in the British Museum. The paper has also been made expressly, as near as possible like the original.

REMARKS.

EVERY circumstance connected with the history of the Art of Printing, its invention and progress, possesses an interest which time only enlarges and heightens, as the experience of the world's history shows more and more forcibly the value of the benefit it has conferred on mankind. It is natural, therefore, that the honoured names of the Founders of our Art should be held in reverence, and all the circumstances connected with their early efforts for its promotion should be regarded with a deep and enduring interest. Schœffer, Faust, and Guttemberg, Caxton, Wynkyn de Worde, and Pynson, are familiar to us all, whilst the literary student and antiquary retrace their histories and discuss their respective claims. The Art was in its early stage regarded as a mystery, the very character of which invested it with a peculiar attraction and importance in the eyes of the uninitiated; and it was natural that those who first produced and promoted such an important invention, should desire to retain their secret, and receive the just reward of their ingenuity and skill. To this we may probably ascribe the fact, that such scanty particulars connected with the introduction of the Art have been handed down to us; and the remarkable circumstance that, when the general principles became known, and Printers multiplied with astonishing rapidity, the peculiar secrets, by which the inventors of the Art had attained the excellence observable in their works, should have followed them to the grave, and been lost to posterity.

So long as the only known method of printing from a raised surface was confined to the cutting each page on a block of wood, the labour of preparing to print was so tedious and slow, that this, the most skilful part of the whole operation, required the largest amount of the labour employed, and consequently that the whole of the process, and the power of practising it,

were of necessity entrusted and taught to the whole of the persons employed; and it is too consistent with the selfishness of human nature for us to be surprised that these men (probably mere labourers originally) should, when in possession of this valuable secret, and notwithstanding the oaths of secrecy administered to them, desire to practise it in a greater degree for their own benefit than by working for others. Nor did the introduction of moveable types, cut singly or in words on separate blocks, very greatly facilitate the process, or render the skilled labour required much less.

But when Schœffer conceived the possibility of producing the whole of the type required for his work from the execution of one cut alphabet, he had in his own possession the knowledge of all the skill. He might in a separate apartment produce his types, and carry them to labourers of inferior skill, to put them together and take off the impressions. Such labourers would have but little power of carrying away and communicating his type-producing process to others. And we thus find, that although the Art of Printing spread with extraordinary rapidity,—the invention being ascribed to Guttemberg about the year 1442, and at the time of its introduction into England (1474) ⁽¹⁴⁷⁵⁾ being practised in fifty different towns in Germany, France, and Italy,—our countryman was totally ignorant, at the time of its introduction, and apparently for some years after, of the process of casting types.*

* The mystery thrown over the operations of a Type-foundry, within my own recollection (thirty-four years), and the still greater secrecy which had existed in my father's experience, testifies that the Art had been perpetuated by a kind of Druidical or Masonic induction from the first. An anecdote of my father's early struggles may illustrate this. At the death of Mr. Joseph Jackson, whom my father had served ten years as apprentice and foreman, there was in progress, for the University Press of Oxford, a new fount of Double-Pica Greek, which had progressed under my father's entire management. The then Delegates of that press—the Rev. Dr. Randolph and Rev. W. Jackson—suggested that Mr. Figgins should finish the fount himself. This, with other offers of support from those who had previously known him, was the germ of his prosperity (which he always gratefully acknowledged). But when he had undertaken this work, the difficulty presented itself, that he did not know where to find the punch-cutter. No one knew his address; but he was supposed to be a tall man, who came in a mysterious way occasionally, whose name no one knew, but he went by the *sobriquet* of "the Black Man." This old gentleman, a very clever mechanic, lived to be a pensioner on my father's bounty,—gratitude is perhaps a better word. I knew him, and could never understand the origin of his *sobriquet*, unless Black was meant for dark, mysterious, from the manner of his coming and going from Mr. Jackson's foundry.

The celebrated Bible by Guttemberg—known as the Mazarin Bible, a copy of which is in the British Museum—and the splendid production of the Psalmorum Codex by Schœffer, printed from cast metal types, not excelled by anything modern, had appeared at Mentz ten years before. The city of Mentz had been sacked, all its printers dispersed, and their types probably melted into bullets; the type-foundry was destroyed, and the dispersed printers were left once more to forage out the new method of producing their materials.

That Caxton used *separate* types for the productions of his Press, from the first, is undoubted; as also is the fact that they were of metal, and that the metal was cast in blocks ready to receive the letter from the hand of the engraver; but that each letter was so cut separately, is easily established by observing that throughout any book printed with these types, no two letters can be found exactly alike; whereas, if cast from a matrix, each perfect type must have been a facsimile of all the others, instead of having a mere family likeness. Now I find so much difference in the earlier works of Caxton, that I am disposed to think each work had, if not altogether new type, at least a very large proportion recut.

The first work attributed to Caxton's press in London, is 'The Game of the Chesse'; not this edition which I have reproduced, with woodcuts, but the edition which has the date 1474. Now this book bears such a strong likeness to the 'History of Troy,' which is known to have been printed at Cologne, that I have no hesitation in ascribing its production to that city. Apart from the similarity of the type,—which, considering its difference from any used in subsequent works, is sufficient evidence to satisfy my mind,—I find an exact similarity in the paper; the water-mark in the paper of the 'Game of Chesse' being the same as that in the paper of the 'History of Troy,' towards the end of the book (a bull's head pendent from part of a Catholic cross). The type has more of the secretary character in it, is much more regularly cut, and the press-work is so much better, (more even than in Caxton's subsequent works,) as to indicate clearly that, commencing with the second edition of the 'Game of Chesse,' the printer, *if the same*, was working under different circumstances, with different materials, and with somewhat less skill.

The date of Caxton's return to England, after his thirty years' absence, does not appear to be certainly known. Mr. Herbert, in his edition of

Ames's 'Typographical Antiquities,' 1785, says, quoting some anonymous authority:—"1471. King Edward IV. returns home; and *probably* Caxton attended him." To which he adds his own remark:—"This hypothesis, how ingenious soever, has yet this difficulty to get over,—the utter silence of Caxton concerning this affair, even when as fair an opportunity offered as could be, to have given at least some intimation thereof." Mr. Ames also says, speaking of the first edition of the 'Game of Chesse,' "This book has been compared with 'Recueil des Histoires de Troyes,' 1464, as well as with the translation thereof by Caxton, printed at Cologne, 1471, and a perfect resemblance found between them in the manner of printing; not only the page itself, but the number of lines in a page, the length, breadth, and the intervals between the lines, are alike."

Supported by this evidence, I look upon the second edition, the one of which I here present a copy, as the first known work produced from Caxton's press at Westminster.

The early works of Caxton, dating from the illustrated 'Game of Chesse,' show evidences of the frequent renewal of the types; and, although produced in succession, some variation in the appearance of the letter is perceptible; nor is this surprising, as they are evidently cut upon very soft metal (probably pewter), and the presses of those days had no means, so far as we know, of regulating the force with which the pressure was brought down upon the face of the type.

Mr. Knight, in his biography of Caxton, says:—"The earliest printing-press was nothing more than a common screw-press,—such as a cheese-press or a napkin-press,—with a contrivance for running the *form* of type under the screw after the form was inked." "As the screw must have come down upon the types with a dead pull; that is, as the table upon which the types were placed was solid and unyielding, great care must have been required to prevent the pressure being so hard as to injure the face of the letters."

In the copy of the 'Game of Chesse' which I have here attempted to reproduce, there are many pages which evidence the want of a regulating adaptation, showing that, if the pressman's arm was invigorated occasionally somewhat beyond propriety, the power of his muscle was the only limit to his pull; at any rate they are almost illegible, and if used until the number of the work required was completed, the types would scarcely be thought worth distributing for recomposition.

It may not be out of place to remark here, that I have heard it maintained that of some of his works Caxton produced more than one or two editions with the same date, the only argument for such a supposition being, that some pages in different copies are not precisely alike; but I think, if my suggestion that the types were of pewter be correct, the fact of a page or two of a work being battered and requiring to be reset during its progress, will sufficiently account for these small differences in the same edition.

Pewter, being an alloy of lead and tin, was probably the hardest known alloy fusible at a moderate temperature, and cast with facility in an iron or brass mould, until the process of freeing antimony from its native impurities (sulphur, arsenic, etc.) had been discovered, and its fusibility with lead and tin proved possible. If there is no certain record of the date at which this took place, it is a curious fact, that until a very recent date, when it was introduced into the manufacture of Britannia metal, the Regulus of Antimony, as the pure metal is called, had no application in the Arts, except as an alloy with tin and lead for the manufacture of printing-types.

Zinc, with tin and lead, is a hard alloy, but, from the volatile nature of the zinc, it becomes oxidized soon after attaining the point of fusion, and the mass becomes thick, pudding-like, and unworkable. An addition of arsenic might render the alloy of lead and tin harder; but from the recent date at which Chemistry became a science, it may be doubted whether in the time of Caxton it was known as a metal.

Perhaps a more practical argument in favour of pewter having been the metal on which Caxton's types were cut, is the appearance of the letters themselves in print. This however is an argument scarcely appreciable but to those who have handled the graver upon different kinds of metal. The softer metals, such as that we have under consideration, do not clear themselves from the tool as do the harder; nor does the tool clear what it cuts from the mass with the same freedom as if it were brass or steel; and occasionally the tool, when losing its keen edge, will drive the soft metal before it rather than cut it out clean. Now these appearances are very frequent in the types of the early works of Caxton printed at Westminster.

In going through the book, as I have been obliged to do, word by word and letter by letter, I have found several stray characters which induce me to think there must have been some intervening works for which other characters were required. For instance, at page 21, line 3 from bottom of

the page, occurs sh¹; this is not to be found again in the volume, and being here used in the pronoun *she*, can have no particular signification in this place.

At page 34, line 2 from the bottom of the page, in the word *atticorum*, the last syllable is contracted.² The contraction of the termination *um* is common in Latin works of the period, but does not occur elsewhere in this book.

At page 67, line 4 from the bottom, is the old contraction y³ for *the*, which is only used two or three other times throughout the book; but at the beginning of the same line occurs the contracted e,⁴ properly used as indicating that m should follow, although it is frequently used in the book without any such meaning.

At page 77, line 21 from top, as in many other places, the h⁵ with a stroke through the top will be found in the word *hymself*, equally without meaning.

At page 82, line 17, page 83, line 20, and page 85, line 16, is used a peculiar combination of the letters ad,⁶ which I do not find in any other place in the book.

The ll⁷ with a stroke through the top also frequently occurs, without any apparent motive for its presence. The anomalous presence of these characters raises the question of their original intent, and makes us doubt whether they were cut for their present places.

It will be seen, by the synopsis of the characters which follow these remarks, and by the book itself, that Caxton used combinations of letters, such as be, bo, he, ho, etc. Caxton was, therefore, the first to print from logotypes, an idea just now resuscitated by Major Beniowski and Mr. Greene, from the tomb to which it was condemned nearly four hundred years ago.

It will be observed that the sloping stroke which is generally used in place of the modern comma is of varied length, sometimes reaching through the body of the letter, sometimes but a fourth of the length, and when thus shortened, scarcely twice in the same position, above, below, or in the middle of the line: this I have endeavoured to imitate, although I believe it to be without meaning—merely the accidental breaking or battering of the type. (These strokes are generally perfect in what I may call the Cologne edition.) It may be observed that the stroke is very frequently used in places where a

¹ þ ² ʒ ³ ȝ ⁴ ē ⁵ ĥ ⁶ ad ad ⁷ ll

full-point is evidently wanted, and sometimes where, in modern punctuation, no pause at all would be indicated.

There are errors sufficient throughout the original work to make it doubtful whether revise-proofs were pulled in those days. I have closely followed the copy in these matters, except so far as "turned letters" were concerned.

Having thus given publicity to some ideas which have suggested themselves during the progress of my work, I have only now to make a few observations upon the book here offered to the literary and antiquarian public, and my motive for undertaking its reproduction.

The copy of Caxton's book which I have taken for my guide is in the King's Library at the British Museum. The fact that the original is printed from *cut* metal types, and is a mixture of black letter and the character called secretary, with all the shades of modification and approximation to each other of which the two styles are capable, makes the work of reproducing by means of cast types from a single cut punch somewhat difficult; but as I found the black letter and its approximations predominate, I have endeavoured, while keeping between the two styles, to adhere more closely to the black letter. Could I have had a copy of the original beside me during my progress, I should have succeeded more to my own satisfaction, and completed my work in one-fourth of the time. As it is, I hope it will not be esteemed a bad imitation of Caxton's book; and as few persons, except those who have decidedly antiquarian tastes, and the curious who take the trouble to seek for these old works in their present solitude, have any idea of their appearance, or even of any black-letter book, this may not be without use in conveying a knowledge of these things into quarters which the originals can never reach.

The paper upon which this book is printed has been made expressly for its publication, with the reed and water-marks imitated from the original,—that is to say, two of the water-marks; for the second or English edition, from which I have been copying, has five distinct water-marks, neither of which is like that used throughout the first edition. For the readiness with which this troublesome work was undertaken, after I had failed to obtain it in several other quarters, and the pains and care used to assimilate it to the original,—as I think, with much success,—I owe my acknowledgments to Mr. Wilmot, of Shoreham Mills, near Sevenoaks.

My motive in producing this book has been partly to enable my contemporaries better to appreciate the industry of our worthy countryman William Caxton, but more especially to assist in raising funds for the completion and endowment of a benevolent institution for decayed Printers. Should the Public feel as much interest in the Charity as I do, and the Learned think well of this publication, we shall have rendered a not unworthy tribute to the memory of William Caxton, in the completion and endowment of the Printers' Almshouses at Wood Green, Tottenham.

VINCENT FIGGINS.

*West-street, West Smithfield, London,
May 1st, 1855.*

A LIST

OF

THE WORKS ASCRIBED TO CAXTON,

As printed by MR. KNIGHT in his 'Biography of Caxton,' and furnished to him for the 'Penny Cyclopædia' by SIR HENRY ELLIS, Principal Librarian of the British Museum; with date of production, where known, and Catalogue and Press Mark, for finding such as are in the Library of the British Museum.

K. L. means King's Library.

G. L. " Grenville Library.

The King " retained by his Majesty George III., when he presented his Library to the Museum.

What Catalogue.	Press Mark.	Date.	
The King.		1464	1. Le recueil des Histoires de Troyes, compose par Raoul le feure, Chapellein de Monseigneur le Duc Philippe de Bourgoingne en l'an de grace milcoccxxiiii. Fol.
B. M.	C. 21. d.		2. Propositio clarissimi Oratoris Magistri Johannis Russell, decretorum doctoris ac adtunc Ambassiatoris Edwardi Regis Anglie et Francie ad illustr. Principem Karolum ducem Burgundie super susceptione ordinis garterij, etc. 4to.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 1.	1471	3. Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye, composed and drawn out of diuerce bookes of latyn into Frensshe by Raoul le feure in the yere 1464, and drawn out of frensshe in to Englysshe by William Caxton at the commaundement of Margarete Duchess of Bourgoyne, &c., whyche sayd translacion and werke was begonne in Brugis in 1468 and ended in the holy cyte of Colen 19 Sept. 1471. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 23.	1474	4. The Game and Playe of the Chesse, translated out of the French, fynysshid the last day of Marche, 1474. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 1.		5. A second edition of the same. Fol., with woodcuts.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 3.	1475	6. A boke of the hoole lyf of Jason. Fol.
K. L.	167. c. 1.	1477	7. The Dictes and notable wyse Sayenges of the Philosophers, transl. out of Frenshe by lord Antoine Wydeville Erle Ryuyeres, empr. at Westmestre. Fol.
		1478	8. The Morale Prouerbes of Cristyne of Pisa. Fol.
P K. L.	C. 11. c. 2.	1480	9. The Book named Cordiale, or Memorare Novissima, which treateth of The foure last things. Begun 1478, finished 1480. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 4.	1480	10. The Chronicles of Englonde. Westm., fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 24.	1480	11. Descripcion of Britayne. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 5.	1481	12. The Mirrour of the World or thymage of the same. Fol.
K. L.	C. 21. d.		
K. L.	C. 11. c. 3.	1481	13. The Hystorye of Reynart the Foxe. Fol.

What Catalogue.	Press Mark.	Date.	
K. L. {	C. 10. b. 6. C. 21. d.	1481	14. The Boke of Tullius de Senectute, with Tullius de Amicitia, and the Declamacyon, which laboureth to shew wherein honour sholde rest. Fol.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 4.	1481	15. Godefroy of Boloyne; or the laste siege and conqueste of Jherusalem. Westm., fol.
K. L. {	C. 10. b. 7. 598. i.	1482	16. The Polycronycon, 1482. Fol.
B. M.	C. 21. d.	1483	17. The Pylgremage of the Sowle. Translated from the French. Westm., fol.
K. L. {	C. 11. c. 5. 1-2	1483	18. Liber Festivalis, or Directions for keeping Feasts all the Yere. Westm., fol.
† K. L. {	C. 11. c. 5. 1-2		19. Quatuor Sermones. Fol., no date.
B. M.	C. 21. d.	1483	20. Confessio Amantis, that is to saye in Engliasse, 'The confesson of the Louer,' maad and compyled by Johan Gower, squyer. Westm., fol.
K. L.	C. 11. d. 8.	1483	21. The Golden Legende. Westm., fol.
		1483	22. Another edition of The Legende. Sm. fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 8.	1483	23. A third, fin. at Westmr., 20 May, 1483, fol.
			24. The booke callid Cathon (Magnus). Transl. from the French. Fol.
K. L. {	C. 11. c. 6. C. 21. d.	1484	25. Parvus Chato. Fol., no name or date.
The King.	C. 11. c. 17.	1484	26. The Knyght of the Toure. From the French. Fol.
	C. 21. c. 1.		27. The Subtyl Historyes and Fables of Esope. Translated from the French. Fol.
K. L.	C. 11. d. 19. C. 10. b. 22.	1484 1485	28. The book of the Ordre of Chyvalry, or Knyghthode. From the French. Assigned to 1484. Fol.
			29. The Book Ryal; or the Book for a Kyng. Fol.
B. M.	C. 10. b. 9.	1485	30. A book of the noble Hystories of Kynge Arthur and of certen of his Knyghtes, which book was reduced in to Englysshe by syr Thomas Malory Knight. Fol.
			31. The Lyf of Charles the Grete Kyng of Fraunce and Emperour of Rome. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 10.	1485 1485	32. Another edition of the same. Fol.
			33. Thystorye of the noble ryght valyaunt and worthy Knyght Parys and of the fayr Vyenne the doulphyns doughter of Vyennnoys. Transl. from French. 1485, fol.
		1486	34. The Book of Good Maners. Fol.
K. L.	The King.	1489	[Ames says, 1487.] 35. The Doctrinal of Sapience. Transl. from the French. Fol.
K. L.	C. 21. d.	1489	36. The Book of Fayttes of Armes and Chyvalrye. Translation from the first part of Vegetius de Re Militari. Fol.
K. L.	C. 11. c. 8.	1490	37. The Arte and Crafte to knowe well to dye. From the French. Fol.
K. L. {	C. 10. b. 12. C. 21. d.	1490	38. The Boke of Eneydos, compyled by Vyrgyle. Transl. from French. Fol.
G. L.	9723.		
K. L.	167. c. 9.		39. The Tales of Cauntyrburye. Fol., no date.
G. L.			40. Another edition. No date or place.
			41. Infancia Salvatoris. 4to.

What Catalogue.	Press Mark.	Date.	
B. M.	C. 21. d.		42. The Boke of Consolacion of Philosophie whiche that Boecius made for his comforte and consolacion. Fol., no date or place.
B. M.	C. 11. c. 9.		43. A collection of Chaucer's and Lydgate's minor poems. 4to.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 13.		[Ames says, in the Public Library at Cambridge.]
K. L.	C. 11. c. 10.		44. The book of Fame, made by Gefferey Chaucer. Fol.
			45. Troylus and Creseyde. Fol.
			46. A book for Travellers. Fol.
P. G. L. {	10542.		47. The Lyf of St. Katherin of Senis. Fol.
K. L. {	C. 10. b. 14.		48. Speculum Vite Christi; or the myrroure of the blessyd Lyf of Jhesu Criste. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 15.		49. Directorium Sacerdotum: sive Ordinale secundum Usum Sarum. Westm., fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 16.		50. The Worke (or Court) of Sapience, composed by John Lydgate. Fol.
B. M.			51. A Boke of divers Ghostly Maters. Westm., fol.
B. M.			[A copy in the Public Library, Cambridge.]
K. L.	C. 10. b. 17.		52. The Curial made by Maystre Alain Charretier. From the French. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 18.		53. The Lyf of our Ladye, made by Dan John Lydgate, monke of Burye. Fol.
K. L.	C. 10. b. 19.		54. The Lyf of Saynt Wenefryde, reduced into Englysshe. Fol.
B. M.			55. A Lytel Tretise, intytuled or named The Lucidarye. 4to.
B. M.			56. Reverendissimi viri dni Gulielmi Lyndewodi, LL.D., et epi Asaphensis constitutiones provinciales Ecclesie Anglicane. 24mo.
B. M.			57. The Historye of Kynge Blanchardyne and Queen Eglantyne his wyfe. Fol.
G. L. {	C. 21. d.		58. The Siege of the noble and invynceble Cytee of Rhodes, by Caoursin. Fol.
K. L. {	6209.		59. Statuta apud Westmonasterium edita, anno primo Regis Ricardi tercii. Fol.
G. L.	6002.	(1490)	60. Statutes made in the first, second, and third Parliaments of Henry VII. Fol.
B. M.			[The only fragment of this work known is two leaves.]
K. L.	C. 10. b. 1.		61. The Accidence. (Mentioned in one of the Sale Catalogues of T. Martin of Palgrave, No. 71.)
B. M.			62. The Prouffitable Boke of mānes soule, called the Chastysing of Goddes Chyldern. Fol.
B. M.			63. Horæ, etc. 12mo. A fragment of eight pages, now at Oxford, in the library bequeathed to the Bodleian by the late F. Douce, Esq.
B. M.			64. A fragment of a Ballad, preserved in a volume of scraps and ballads in the British Museum.
			[A part of the edition of CHAUCER.]
B. M.	C. 25 c.		65. The Fifteen O's and other Prayers.
B. M.	5.		66. Meditacions sur les sept Pseaulmes penitentialx.
B. M.	C. 21. d.		67. Indulgence for the defence of Rhodes. 1480.
	5.		

*The following is a List of the Places where, and the Persons by whom, the Art of Printing was practised at the time Caxton commenced it in England.**

1457.	<i>Mayence</i>	Guttemberg, Faust, and Schœffer.
1461.	<i>Bamberg</i>	Albert Pfister.
1465.	<i>Subbiaco</i>	Con. Sweynheim and Arn. Pannartz.
1467.	<i>Rome</i>	The same printers.
1467.	<i>Elfield</i>	H. and N. Rechtermuntze and Wm. Spyes.
1467.	<i>Cologne</i>	Ulricus Zel (or Zell), of Hanau.
1468.	<i>Augsburg</i>	Giuther Zainer, of Reutlingen.
1469.	<i>Venice</i>	John and Vindeline of Spire.
1469.	<i>Milan</i>	Philippus de Lavagna.
1470.	<i>Nuremberg</i>	Joannes Sensenschmidt.
1470.	<i>Paris</i>	U. Gering, M. Crantz, and M. Friburger.
1470.	<i>Foligno</i>	Emilian de Orfinis.
1470.	<i>Trevi</i>	Joan Reynardi.
1470.	<i>Verona</i>	Joan de Verona.
1471.	<i>Strasburg</i>	J. Mentel or Mentelius, H. Eggestein.
1471.	<i>Spire</i>	Petrus Drach.
1471.	<i>Treviso</i>	Girardus de Lisa, de Flandria.
1471.	<i>Bologna</i>	Balthasar Arzoguidi.
1471.	<i>Ferrara</i>	Andreas Belfortes.
1471.	<i>Naples</i>	Sixtus Reisinger of Strazburg.
1471.	<i>Pavia</i>	Anton de Carcano.
1471.	<i>Florence</i>	Bernard Cennini and Son.
1472.	<i>Cremona</i>	D. de Paravisino and S. de Merlinis.
1472.	<i>Fivizzano</i>	Jam Baptista (a priest) and Alexander.
1472.	<i>Padua</i>	B. de Valdezochio and M. de S. Arboribus.
1472.	<i>Mantua</i>	Petrus Adam de Michaelibus.
1472.	<i>Montreal (Sicily)</i>	Ant. Mathias and Balth. Corderius.
1472.	<i>Jesi</i>	Fridericus Veronensis.
1472.	<i>Munster (in Argua)</i>	Helias Heyle, or de Louffen.
1472.	<i>Parma</i>	Andreas Portiglia.

* Santander gives this List from their earliest known works.

1473.	<i>Messina</i>	Henricus Alding.
1473.	<i>Brescia</i>	Thomas Ferrandus.
1473.	<i>Ulm</i>	Joan Zainer, of Reutlingen.
1473.	<i>Buda</i>	Andreas Hess.
1473.	<i>Langingen</i>	Printer's name not known.
1473.	<i>Mersburg</i>	Lucas Brandis.
1473.	<i>Alost</i>	Theodoricus (or Thierry) Martens.
1473.	<i>Utrecht</i>	Nicholas Ketelaer and Ger. de Leempt.
1473.	<i>Lyons</i>	Bartholomeus Buyer.
1473.	<i>St. Ursio (near Vicenza)</i>	Joannes de Rheno.
1474.	<i>Vicenza</i>	Leonardus Achates of Basle.
1474.	<i>Como</i>	Ambr. de Orcho and Dion. de Paravicino.
1474.	<i>Turin</i>	John Fabri and Joanninus de Petro.
1474.	<i>Genoa</i>	Matthias Moranus and Mic. de Monacho.
1474.	<i>Savona</i>	John Bon (Bonus Johannes).
1474.	<i>Erlingen</i>	Conradus Fyner.
1474.	<i>Basle</i>	Bernardus Richel and Bertholdus Rodt.
1474.	<i>Vallis Sancta Maria*</i>	Fratres Vitæ Communis.
1474.	<i>Valencia</i>	A. F. de Cordova and L. Palmart.
1474.	<i>Lowain</i>	Joannes de Westphalia.
1474.	<i>Westminster</i>	William Caxton.

* Santander conjectures this place to be Marihausen, a convent of the Brethren of Common Life, situated on the Rheingan, a territory belonging to Mayence. This Order was instituted by Gerard the Great, under the rule of St. Augustine; they were bound to transcribe the works of the Fathers and other ecclesiastical authors; but when Printing deprived them of their means of subsistence, they applied themselves to the practice of that Art.—*From Johnson's Typographia.*

SYNOPSIS

of Characters and Combinations used in 'The Game of Chesse.'

a	ā	ā	ā	ā					Ⓐ	
b	ba	be	bo						Ⓑ	
c	ca	ce	ci	co	cr	cu			Ⓒ	Ⓒ
d	da	de	do	di					Ⓓ	
e	ē	en	er	et					Ⓔ	
f	ff	fa	fe	fi	fo	fu			Ⓕ	
g	g								Ⓖ	
h	h	ha	he	ho					Ⓗ	
i	ij	in	im						Ⓐ	
j									Ⓙ	
k	k								Ⓚ	
l	ll	la	le	li	lo	lu			Ⓛ	
m	m								Ⓜ	
n	n								Ⓝ	
o	oa	ō	ō						Ⓞ	
p	pp	pa	pe	po					Ⓟ	
q									Ⓠ	
r	ra	re	ri	ro	ru				Ⓡ	
s	ss	sa	se	si	so	su			Ⓢ	
t	ta	te	ti	to	tu				Ⓣ	
u	u								Ⓤ	
v	va	ve	vi						Ⓥ	
w	wa	we	wi						Ⓦ	
x	x								Ⓧ	
y	y	ze	z	y					Ⓨ	
										• • • • • /

The Game of the Cheese
by
William Caxton.

The original by Caxton has no Title page, or Date.

He holy apostle and doctour of the peple saynt
t Poule sayth in his epystle . Alle that is Wryten
is Wryten vnto our doctryne and for our ler-
nyng . Wherefore many noble clerkes haue endeouored
them to Wryte and compple many notable Werkes and
hystories to the ende that it myght come to the knowlege
and vnderstandyng of suche as ben ygnoraunt . Of Which
the nombre is infenyte / And accordyng to the same saith
Salamon . that the nombre of folles . is infenyte , And
among alle other good Werks . It is a Werke of ryght
special recomendacion to enforme and to late vnderstonde
Wysedom and Vertue vnto them that be not lernyd ne can
not dyscerne Wysedom fro folye . Thene emonge Whom
there Was an excellent doctour of dyuynyte in the royaume
of fraunce of the ordre of thospytal of Saynt Johns of
Iherusalem Whiche entended the same and hath made a
book of the chesse moralysed . Whiche at suche tyme as I
Was resident in brudgys in the counte of Flaundes cam
in to my handes , Whiche Whan I had redde and ouerseyn /
me semed ful necessarye for to be had in englysshe / And
in escheWyng of ydlenes And to thende that some Which
haue not seen it / ne vnderstonde frenssh ne latyn . I desy-
bered in myself to translate it in to our maternal tonge /
And Whan I so had achyueued the sayd translacon , I
dyde doo sette in enprynte a certeyn nombre of theym ,
Whiche anone Were depesshed and solde . Wherefore by cause
thys sayd book is ful of holsom Wysedom and requysyte
vnto euery astate and degree , I haue purposed to
enprynte it / shewyng therein the figures of suche persons

as longen to the playe . In Whom al astates and degrees
 ben comprysed / beseechyngh al them that this titel Werke
 shal see / here , or rede to haue me for excused for the rude &
 symple makyngh and reducyn in to our englissh / And
 Where as is defaute to correete and amende / and in so doyng
 they shal deserue meryte and thanke , and I shal pray for
 them , that god of his grete mercy shal rewarde them in
 his euerlastyngh blisse in heuen , to the Whiche he brynge
 vs , that Wyth his precious blood redemed vs Amen

This booke is deuptyd and departed in to fouz traytyes
 and partyes .

The first traytye

How the playe of the chesse Was fyrst founden	j
and vnder What kyng capitulo	j
Who fond first the playe of the chesse capitulo	ij
Wherefore the play Was founden and maad Capitulo	iii

The second traytye

The forme of a kyng of his maners and estate ca	j
The fourme & maners of a quene ca	ij
The condicions & forme of the alphyngs ca	iiij
The ordre of chynualtye or knyghthode	
her offyces and maners capitulo	iiij
The forme and maner of wokes capitulo	v

The third traytye

The offices & maners of labourers Capitulo	j
The maner & offyce of a Smyth capitulo	ij
The offyce of notaries/aduocates.ſcruenens andꝝ drapers or clothmakers capitulo	iiij
The maners of marchauntes & chaungers capitulo	iiij
The forme of phisiciens . lechers ſpycers andꝝ apotheca, ryes capitulo	B
Of tauerers. hoſteleers & Bitailers capitulo	Bi
Of keepers of tollnes . Receyuers of cuſtum andꝝ tollenars capitulo	Bij
Of meſſagers . currouers . Ryhauldes andꝝ players at the dyſe capitulo	Bij

The fourth traytze

Of the cheſſe boꝝde in genere how it is made capitulo	j
The draught of the kyng andꝝ how he meueth hym in the eſchequer capitulo	ij
Of the moeuyng of the quene andꝝ how ſhe yſſueth out of her place capitulo	iiij
Of the yſſue of the Alphyns capitulo	iiij
Of the meuyng of the knyghtes capitulo	B
Of the yſſue of the wolkis & of her progreſſe capitulo	Bj
Of the yſſue of the comyn peple/ Whom the paſſnes reprefente capitulo	Bij
Of the epilogacion andꝝ recapitulacion of thys booke capitulo	Bij

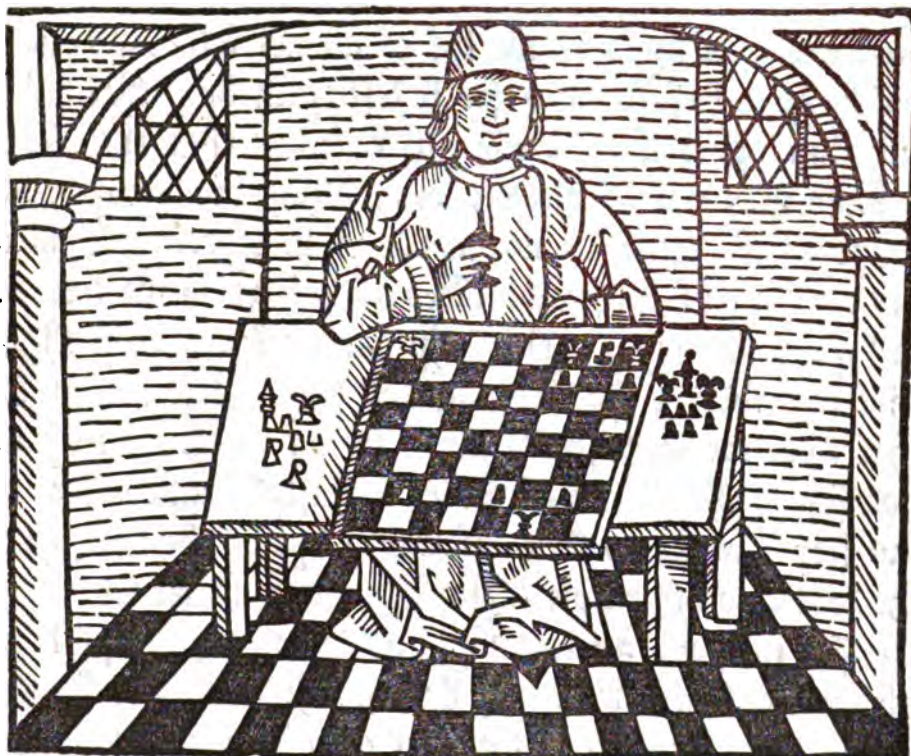
This first chapitre of the first tractate sheweth Under
 der What kyng the playe of the Chesse Was founden and
 maad. Capitulo primo



Monge alle the euyl condicions & signes that may
 a be in a man the first and the grettest is .Whan he fe
 reth not ne dredeth to displese & make Wroth god by synne
 & the peple by luyng disordonatly /Whan he retcheth not
 nor taketh hede vnto them that repreue hym and his by
 ces /But sleeth them. In suche Wyse as did the emperour
 new. Whiche did so flee his mayster seneque 'for as moche
 as he myght not suffre to be repreuyd & taught of hym. in
 like wise Was so tyme a kyng in babilon that Was named

Enylmerodach a Jolye man Without Justyse and so cru-
el that he did do helpe his faders body in thre hondred pieces
and gaf hit to ete and deuoure to thre hondred hyrdes that
men calle Boultries / And Was of suche condiaon as Was
Nero / And right Wel resemblid and Was lyke vnto his
fader Nabugodonosor . Whiche on a tyme Wold do flee all
the sage and Wise men of babilone . For as moche as they
coude not telle hym his dreame that he had dremyd on a
nyght and had forgotten hit like as hit is Writen in the
byble in the booke of danyel . Under this kyng thene Enyl-
merodach Was this game and playe of the chesse founden .
Trwe it is that some men Wene/that this play Was fou-
den in the tyme of the katayles and siege of troye . But
that is not so / For this playe cam to the playes of the
Caldees as diomedes the greek saith and referreth / that
amonge the philosophres Was the most renomed playe a-
monge al othez playes . And after that cam this playe
in the tyme of alexander the greeke in to egypt and so vnto
alle the parties toward the south . And the cause Wherefore
this playe Was so renomed shal be sayd in the iiij chepitre .

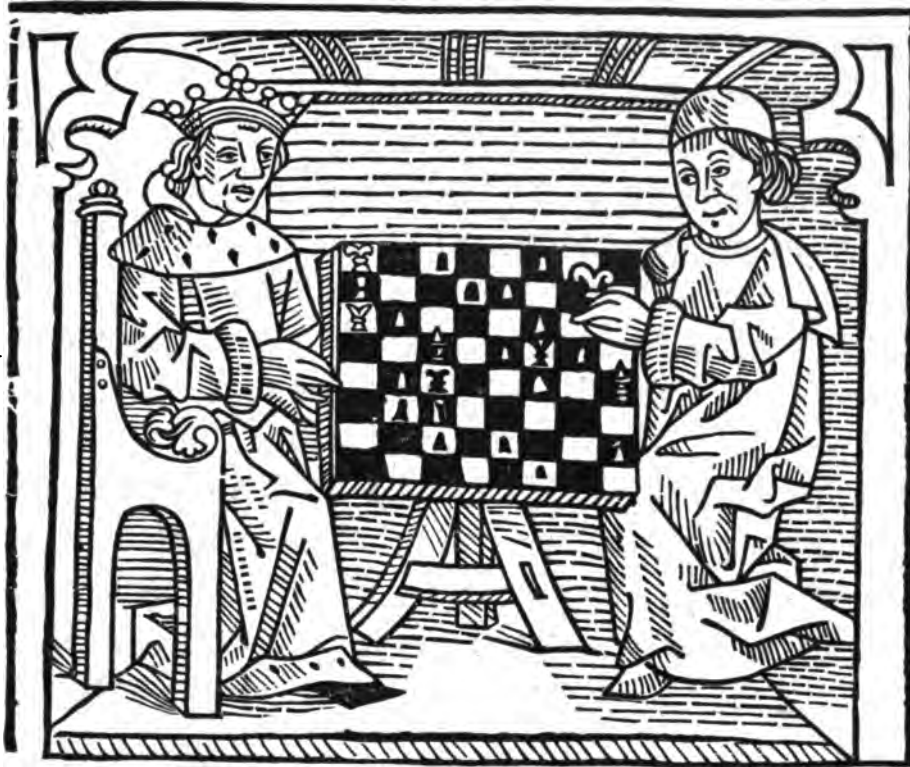
This chapytre of the first tractate the Wyth Who fonde
first the playe of the Cesse. Capitulo ij



This playe fonde a phylosopher of thorpent Wyche
t Was named in caldee Eperfes or in greke philemes
for Which is as moche to say in englyssh as he that loupeth
Justyce and mesure / And this phylosopher Was renomed
gretly among the grekes and them of Athenes Wyche
Were good clerkys and phylosophers also renomed of their
connyng / This phylosopher Was so Just and trewe that he
had leuer dye / than to lyue long and be a fals flaterer
With the sayd kyng / For Whan he behelde the foul & syn-
ful lyf of the kyng . And that no man durst blame hym

For by his grete cruelte he put them al to deth that disple
sid him. He put hym self in pael of deth, and lounde &
chees rather to dye than lenger to lyue. The euyl lylf and
dissamed of a kyng is the lylf of a cruel keste. and ought
not longe to be susteyned, for he destroyeth hym that disple
sith him. And therfore rehereth Valerius. that there Was
a Wyse man named theodore ceterum Whom his kyng dyd do
hange on the crosse for as moche as he repreuyd hym of
his euyl & foul lylf, and alwey as he Was in the torment
he sayd to the kyng. Upon thy counceyllours and theym
that ben clad in thy clothyng and whys Were more reson
that this torment shold come, for as moche as they dar
not say to the the trouth for to do Justyse rightwyslye of
my self I make no force Whether I dye on the lond or on
the Water or otherwyse / As Who sayth he wted not to
dye for Justyce. In like Wyse as democreon the philoso
pher put out his owne eyen by cause he wold not see that
no good myght come to the euyl and bycious peple Wyth
out right, And also desortes the philosophre as he Went
toward his deth. His Wyf that folowed after hym sayd
that he Was dāpned to deth Wrongfully. thēne he answered
and sayd to her. holde thy pees and be styll / hit is better
and more meritorpe to dye by a Wrong & Bnrightful Ju
gement / than that I had deserued to dye.

The thyrd chappitre of the first tractate treteth Wherfore
the playe Was founden and maad? Capitulo iij



He causes Wherfore this playe Was founden ben iij
t. The first Was for to correcte and repreue the kyng
for Whan this kyng enghemewdach sawe this playe / And
the lawers • knyghtes and gentilmen of his court playe
Wyth the phylosopher / he merueylled greatly of the beaultie
and noueltie of the playe . And desired to playe agaynst
the philosopher / The philosopher answered and sayd to hym
that hit myght not be doon / but yf he first lernyd the play
The kyng sayd hit Was reson and that he wold put hym
to the payn to lerne hit / Than the phylosopher began to

teche hym/ and to shewe hym the maner of the table of the
chesse horde and the chesse meyne. And also the maners &
the condicions of a kyng of the nobles and of the comyn
peple and of theyr offycers and how they shold be touchyd &
drauven. And how he shold amende hym self and become
vertuous, and When this kyng herde that he repreuyd hym
he demaunded hym vpon payn of deth to telle hym Where-
fore he had founden and maad this playe, and he answered
my right dere lord and kyng .the greetest and most thyng
that I desire is that thou haue in thy self a glorious and
vertuous hys. And that may I not see, but yf thou be en-
doctined and wel manerd and that had. so mayst thou be
belouyd of thy peple. Thus than I desire that thou haue
other gouernement thene thou hast had. & that thou haue
vpon thy self first seignourie & maistrie such as thou hast
vpon other by force and not by right, Certeynly hit is
not right that a man be maister ouer other & comaundour
Wher he can not reule nor may reule hym self and that his
vertues dompyne aboue his vices, for seignourie by force
and wyll may not longe endure/Thenne thus may thou
see oon of the causes Why and Wherefore I haue founden &
maad this playe. Whiche is for to correcte and repreue the
of thy tyrannye & vicious hyung. for all kynges ought
specially to here her corrigiours or correctours and her cor-
rections to holde and kepe in mynde. In like wyse as Va-
lerius reherceth that the kyng alexandre had a noble and
renomed knyght that sayd in repreuyng of Alexandre
that he was to moche couetous & in especial of the honours
of the World, And sayd to hym yf the goddes had maade

thy body as grete as is thy herte . Alle the Worldr coude
not holde the .for thou holdest in thy right honde al the ory
ent, and in thy lyste honde the occident. sith than hit is so
oz thou art a god oz a man oz nought . yf thou be god .
doe than Wel and good to the peple as god doth. and take
not from them that they ought to haue and is theyres .
Yf thou be a man thynke that thou shalt dye .and than
thou shalt doo noon euyl , yf thou be nought forgete thy
self . There is no thyng so stronge and ferme . but
that sumtyme a feble thyng casteth down and ouerthrowe
hit . How Wel that the Lyon be the strengest best , yet
sometyme a litl byrde eteth hym / The second cause Where
fore this playe Was founden and maad . Was for to kepe
hym from ydlenesse / Whereof seneque sayth vnto lucyлле
ydlenes Without ony occupation is sepulture of a man ly-
uyngh / and Barro saith in his sentences that in lyke Wyse
as men goo not for to goo, the same Wyse the lyf is not
gyuen for to lyue but for to doo Wel and good. & therefore
secondly the philosopher fond this playe for to kepe the pe-
ple from ydlenes , for there is moche peple Whan so is that
they be fortunat in Worldly goodes that they drabe them
to ease & ydlenes Whereof comyth ofte tymes many euyllis
and grete synnes / and by this ydlenes the herte is quen-
chyng Whereof comyth good desperacion . The thyrd cause is
that euery man naturelly desireth to knowe and here no-
ueltees and tydynghes . for this cause they of Athenes
studyed as We rede , and for as the corporal oz bodelye
sight enpesseth and letteth otherwhyle the knowleche of
subtyl thynges. Therefore We rede that democrite the

philosopher put out his owen eye, For as moche as he
myght haue the better entendement and vnderstandyngh.
many haue ben made blynde that were grete clerkes in like
wyse as was didimus bysshop of alexandrie. that he wold wyl
that he sawe not. yet he was so grete a clerke/that gregore
nazaz and saynt Jerome that were clerkes and maysters
to other cam for to be his scolers and lernyd of hym. And
saynt anthonye the grate hermyte cam for to see hym on a
tyme, and emonge alle other thynges, he demaunded hym
yf he were not gretly dyspleid that he was blynde & sawe
not. and he answered, that he was gretly alasshyd for that
he supposid not that he was not displeid in that he had
lost his sight, and saynt anthonye answered to hym I mer
uaile moche that hit displeith the that thou hast lost that
thyng which is comyn betwene the and bestes. and thou
knowest wel that thou hast not lost that thyng that is co
myn betwene the and the aungellis, And for these causes
for sayd the philosopher intended to put away al pensifnes
and thoughtes. and to thynke onely on this playe as
that he sayd and appere in this booke after.

The second tractate / the first chapter treateth of the forme
of a kyng of his maners & of his estate Capitulo primo



The kyng must be thus maad .for he must sytte
t . in a chayer clothyd in purpure / crowned on his heed
in his right hond a ceptre and in the left honde an apple of
golde / for he is the most grettest and hychest in dygnyte a:
loue al other and most Worthy / And that is signyfied
by the crowne .for the glorie of the peple is the dygnyte of
the kyng / and aboue al other the kyng ought to be re:
plenysshed With Vertues and of grace .and this signyfeth
the purpure , For in like wyse as the robes of purpure ma
keth fayr and enbeauteth the body. the same wyse Vertues

makyth the folle, he ought alwey thynk on the gouerne-
ment of the royaume & Who hath thadmynystacion of Jus-
tyce, and this shold he by hym self pryncipally. This sig-
nifyeth the appel of golde that he holdeth in his left honde/
and for as moche as it aperteyneth vnto hym to punyshe
the rebelles hath he the septre in his right hond. And for
as moche as mysericorde and trowth conserue and kepe the
kyng in his trone, Therefore ought a kyng to be merciful
and delonayr. for When a kyng or prynce desireth or Wyl
he helouyd of his peple lette hym be gouerned by delonayrte
And Valerius saith that delonayrte perceyth the fertes of
straungers, and amoliffeth and makyth softe the fertes
of his enemyes. Wherof he reheraith that phylostratus that
Was duc of athenes had a doughter. Whom a man louyd
so ardently, that on a tyme as he saue her With her moder
sodaynly he cam and kyssed her. Wherof the moder Was so
angry and sorowful that she Went and requyred of her lord
the duc, that his heed myght be smyten of. The prynce
answerd to her and sayd. yf We shold see them that loue
vs. What shal We do to our enemyes that hate vs. Cer-
teynly this Was the answer of a noble & delonayr prynce
that suffred that Dylonye doon to his doughter & to hym
self yet more. This prynce had also a frende that Was na-
med anipe that sayd on a tyme as moche Dylonye vnto
the prynce as ony man myght saye. And that myght not
suffyse hym. but he cratchid hym in the Dylage. the prynce
suffryd hym paciently in suche Wyse as though he had doon
to hym no Dylonye but curtesye. And When his sones
Wold haue auengyd this Dylonye. he comaunded them

that they shold not be so hardy so to doo / The next day
 folowynge Arispe remembred of the right grete Dylone
 that he had don to his frende and lord Without cause /
 He fyl in dyspayr and wold haue slayn hym self / When
 the duc knewe and vnderstood that . he cam to hym and
 said ne doubt the no thyng . and swore to hym by his
 faith that also wel he was and shold be his friend fro tha
 forthon as euer he had ben tofore yf he wold . and thus he
 respited hym of his deth by his desonayrte / and in lyke
 wise rede we of the kyng pirre to whom was reported that
 they of tarente had sayd grete Dylone of hym . for which
 cause he maad al them to come tofore hym & demaunded
 of them yf they had so said . than one of them answered &
 said yf the Wyn & the candellis had not sayled thys langa
 ge had ben a Jape . in regarde of that we had thought
 to haue don / Then the kyng began to laue . For they
 had confest that suche langage as was said and spoken
 was by drunkenhys / And for this cause of desonayrte
 the peple of tarente tooke for a custome that the drunken
 men shold be punyschid . and the sobre men preyed / The
 kyng thence thus ought to loue humylyte and hate
 falsyte after the holy scripture that spekieth of eueri man
 generallly . For the kyng in his wyame representeth god
 & god is verite . and therefore hym ought to say no thyng
 but yf hit were veritable and stable / Valerius reherceth
 that Alcyandze Wyth alle his ooste rood for to destroye
 a cite which was namede lapsare / When than a phy
 losophre which had to name anaxymenes which had ben
 tofore maistre & gouernour of alixandre herd & vnderstood

of his comynge, cam agayn alexandre to desire and requyre
of hym. And Whan he sawe alexandre he supposid to haue
ayyd his request / Alexandre brake his demaunde tofore
and swore to hym to fore he ayd ony thyng by his gooddes
that suche thyng as he ayd or requyred of hym. he wold
in no wyse doon. Thenne the phylosopher requyred hym
to destroye the cite Whan Alexandre vnderstood his desyre
& the oth that he hath maad. he suffred the cite to stonde
and not to be destroyed / ffor he had leuer not to do his wyll
than to be periured and forsworn and doo ageynst his oth
Quynsian sayth that no grette man ne lord shold not
swere. But Where as is grette nede / and that the symple
poule or worde of a pryncer ought to be more stable thenne
the oth of a marchaunt, Alas Who kepe the prynces their
promyses in thys dayes. not onely her promyses but their
othes her seales and wrytynges and signes of theyr pro-
pre handes / alle fayllet god amende hit,

A kynge also ought to hate all cruelte, For We rede that
neuer dyed yet ony pietous persone of euyl deth. ne cruel
persone of good deth / Therefore recounteth Valerius that
there Was a man named theile a Werkman in metalle,
that maad a boole of coppe and a lityl Wyket on the syde
Wherby men myght put in them that shold be brent therein
And hit Was maad in suche manere. that they that
shold be put and enclosed therein shold crye no thyng
lyke to the boys of a man but of an ore.

And thys maad he by cause men shold haue the lasse
pyte of them / Whan he had maad thys boole of coppe.
he presentyd hit vnto a kynge Whiche Was called philarde

that Was so cruel a tyraunt that he delited in no thyng
 but in crueltie. And he tolde hym the condicion of the hole
 Whan philerde herde and vnderstood thys. he alowed and
 praisid moche the Werke/and after sayd to hym/ thou that
 art more cruel than I am / shalt assay and proue first thy
 presente and yeste and so maad hym to go in to the schole
 and dye an euyl deth. Therefore sayth oure there is no
 thyng more resonable thenne that a man dye of suche deth
 as he purchaseth vnto other. Also the kyng ought souer-
 raynly kepe Justyce/ who maketh or keepeth a royaume With-
 out Justyce. of kerry force there must be grette robberye &
 thefte. Therefore recheath Saynt Augustyn in a booke
 Whyche is intituled the cyte of god/ that there Was a theef
 of the see named diomedes that Was a grette rouar & dyd
 so moche harme that the complayntes cam tofore alexander
 Which dyd hym to be taken and brought afore hym,
 And he demaunded hym Wherefore he Was so nypous and
 cruel in the see, And he answered to hym agayn, For
 as moche as thou art oon a londe in the Worlde. so am I
 another in the see. / But for as moche as the euyl that I
 doo is in oon galey or Weyn therefore I am callyd a theef
 But for as moche as thou doost in many Shippys and
 Wyth grette puyssaunce and power. Therefore arte thou
 callyd an Emperour. But yf fortune Were for
 me in suche Wyse, I Wold become a good man and
 better thenne I now am, But thou the more rycher and
 fortunat that thou art/ The more Worse art thou/
 alexander said to hym I shal chaunge thy fortune in
 suche Wyse as thou ne say that thou shalt do it by pouerte
 b ij

but for euyl and mauayste. and so he made hym ryche / and
this was he that afterward was a good pryncer & a good
Justicier, The kyng ought to be soueraynly chaste / and
this signefyeth a quene that is oonly on his right side.
For it is to be beleuyd and credyble that Whan the kyng
is a good man / Juste trewe and of good maners & con-
ditions that his children shal folowe gladly the same. for
a good sone and a trewe ought not to forsake and goo fro
the good condicions of his fader / for certes it is agaynst
god and nature in partye Whan a man taketh other wene
his propre wyf, and that see we by byrdes. of Whom the
male and female haue to gyder the charge in keepynge and
nouryng of their yonge fowles and byrdes. For somme
maner of fowles kepen them to their females oonly / As
hit appereth by storkes doobues and turtles. But the fow-
les that nouryssh not their byrdes haue many wyues and
femels / As the cok that no thyng nouryssh his chickens
And therfore amonge al the bestes that been, man and
woman putteth moste their entente and haue most care &
charge in nouryng of their chyldren & therfore don they
agaynst nature in partye Whan they leue theyr wyues for
other women / of this chastete reherceth Valerius an exaple
& saith that ther was a man of wome whych was named
sapius affrica for as moche as he had conquered affrique holl
wel that he was of wome born. Whan he was of xxxiij yere
of age he conquerd cartage & toke moche people in ostage
among Whom he was presented With a right fayr mayde
for his solas & plaisir Which was assured & handfast into
a noble yonge gentelman of cartage Which was named

Indiuiaible, and anon as this gentil sapio knewe that
 not Withstondyng that he Was a pryncer noble & lusty/dyd
 do calle anon the parents & kynnesmen of them & deliuered
 to them their daughter With out doyng of ony bylonye to
 her. And the munson or gold that they had ordeyned
 for their daughter. gaf hit euery deel in dowaire to her.
 and the yonge man that Was her husbond saue the fran
 chise & gentylnes of hym, tordned hym self and the hertes
 of the noble peple into the loue & alliaunce of the romay
 nes, & this suffisith as touchyng the kynge

The second chapitze of the second booke and treteth of the
 forme and maners of the quene capitulo secundo



Thus ought the quene be maad / She ought to be
t a fayr lady sittynge in a chayer and crowned With a
cowne on her heed and cladde With a cloth of gold and a
mantel aboute furrid With ermynes . and she shold sitte on
the left side of the kyng for the amplexions and embrasyng
ges of her husbond like as it is sayd in Scripture in the
Canticles . her left arme shal be vnder my heed and her
right arme shal bechype and embrace me . In that she is
sette on his left side is by grace geuyn to the kyng by
nature and of right . For better is to haue a kyng by
succesyon thenne by eleccion , For often tymes the elec-
tors and chosers can not be Wylle not accorde / And
so is the eleccion lest , And otherwhyle they chese not the
beste and most able and conuenient / But hym that they
best loue , or is for them most proffitable ,
But Whan the kyng is by signage and by true suc-
cession . He is taught enseyned and nourished in his
youth all good and vertuous tatches and maners of his
fader . And also the prynces of the royaume dar not so
hardly meue Warre agaynst a kyng hauing a sone for
to reigne after hym / and so a quene ought to be chaste
Wise . of honest lye . Wel manerid and not Curious in
norysshynge of her chyldren , Her Wisedom ought not
only to appere in fait and Deedes / but also in spekynge
that is to Wete that she be secreete and telle not suche
thynges as ought to be holden secreete .
Wherefore it is comyn prouerbe that Women can kepe
no counceyl / And accordynge thereto Macrobius reherceth
in the booke of the dreames of Scypio . That there Was

a chyld of wome that Was named papirus that on a tyme
Went With his fader Which Was a senatour in to the cham
bre Where as they helde theyr counayl . And that tyme
they spake of suche maters as Was comaunded and a
greed shold he kepte secret vpon payn of theyr lides .
and so departed / And Whan he Was comen home from the
senatoure and fro the counayl Wyth his fader / His mo
der demaunded of hym What Was the counayl and Whereof
they spake and had tarped so longe there / And the
chyld answered to her and sayd he durst not tell nor
saye hit for so moche as hit Was defended vpon payn of
deth / Thenne Was the moder more desirous to knowe
than she Was to fore / And began to flateze hym one
tyme / And afterward to menace hym that he shold
saye and telle to her What it Was / And Whan the
chyld sawe that he myght haue no reste of his moder in
no wyse / He made her first promyse that she shold kepe
hit secreete . And to telle hit to noon of the world /
And that doon / he feyned a lesing or a lye and sayde
to her / that the Senatours had in counayl a grete questi
on and dyfference Whiche Was this / Whether hit Were
better and more for the comyn Wele of Rome . that a man
shold haue wo wyues / Or a wyf to haue wo hus
bondys / And Whan she had vnderstonde this / He
defended hyr that she shold telle hit to none other body /
And after this she Went to her gossyb and tolde to her
this counayll secreetly . And she tolde to another .
And thus every wyf tolde hit to other in secreet / & thus
hit happend anone after that alle the wyues of Rome

cam to the senatoure Where the senators Were assemblyd
and cryed With an hygh Voys .that they had leuer /And
also hit Were better for the comyn Wele that a Wyf shold
haue two husbondys than a man two Wyues , The sena-
tours heeryng this Were gretefully abasshyd and Wyt not
to say , ner What /ner how to answer . tyl atte laste that
the child papire refered to them all the cas and sayd how
hit Was happend . And When the senators herd and vnder-
stood the mater they Were gretefully abasshyd , & comendyd
gretefully the Ingenye and Wytte of the chylde that so Wysely
contrpyued the tye rather than he wold discouere their coun-
ceyl . And forthwyth made hym a senatour , and establis-
shed and ordeyned fro than forthon that no chylde in any
Wyse shold entre in to the colceyl hows amonge them With
their faders except papirus . Whome they wold that he shold
alwey be amonge them . Also a quene ought to be chaste
For as she is aboue al other in estate and reuerence . So
shold she be ensaumple vnto al other in her luyng honest
tye / Wherof Jerome referoeth agaynst Jonynyan . that
there Was a gentyl man of ryme named duele . and this
man Was he that first foud the maner to fight on the War-
ter , and had first the Victorye / This duele had to his Wyf
one of the best Women and so chaste . that euery Woman
myght take ensaumple of her / and at that tyme the synne
of the fleshe Was the gretest synne that any myght do
agaynst nature / And this sayd good Woman Was named
ylie . And so hit happend that this duele became so olde that
he stowped and quaked for age . and on a tyme one of his
aduersayres repreuyd & reprochyd hym sayeng that he had

a stynkyng breeth. And forthwyth he Went home to hys
Wyf al angry and alasswyd/ and ayed her Why & Wherefore
she had not tolde his defeaute to hym that he myght haue
founden remedye to haue hen purged therof, & she answered
that as for as moche as she supposyd that euery man had
the same fault as wel as he; For she kyst neuer any man
nes mouth but her husbondes. O moche Was this Woman
to be prayse; and haue a synnguler laude benyng that
this defeaute had not hen onely in her husbond, Wherefore she
suffred hit paciently, in such wise that her husbond knewe
his defeaute sonner by other thenne by her. Also we rede
that there Was a Wedowe named Anna, Whiche had a
frende that counceylled hyr to marye. For she Was yonge
fayr and ryche. to Whom she answered that she Wold not
so doo in no wyse, For yf I shold haue an husbond as I
haue had & that he Were as good as he Was. I shold euer
hen aferd to lose hym, lyke as I lost that other. & thenne
shold I lyue alwey in fere and drede. Whiche I Wyl not.
And yf hit happend me to haue a Worse. What shold hit
proffyte me to haue an euyl husbond after a good. and
so she concluded that she Wold kepe her chastete. Saynt
Austyn reherceth in the booke de Ciuitate dei that in Rome
Was a noble lady gentyl of maners and of hygh kynrede
named Lucrecia, And had an husbond named Colatyne
Whiche desired on a tyme the Emperours sone named tor-
quyne thorguyllous or the proude. and he Was calle syle
for to come dyne and sporte hym in his castel or manor.
And Whan he Was entred amonge many noble ladies he
saue Lucrecia. And Whan this emperours sone had seen &

aduertysed her deportes . her countenaunce . her manere / &
her beaultie . he Was alle rauysshed and espyed Wyth her
loue forthwyth / And espyed a tyme Whan her husbond
Collatyn Wente vnto the oost of thempour . and cam
in to the place Where as lucrese Was With her felawshyp
Whom she receyued honourably . And Whan tyme came to
goo to bedde and slepe she maad redy a bedde rially for hym
as hit apperteyned to the emperours sone . And this sytus
espyed Where lucrecia laye . and Whan he supposid & knewe
that euery body Was in his first sleep . he cam vnto the
bedde of lucrese and that one hand sette on her breste and
in that othez honde a naked sword . and sayd to her . Lu-
crese holde thy peas and crye not . For I am sirte tar-
quynus sone . for yf thou speke ony word thou shalt be
dede / and for fere she helde her peas . Thene he began to
praye and promyse many thynges . and after he menaced
and thretened her that she shold enclpne to hym to doo his
Wyll . and Whan he sawe he coude nor myght haue his en-
tente he sayd to her / yf thou do not my Wyll / I shal slee
the and one of thy seruantis and shal lay hym alle deed
by thy syde / And thenne I shal say that I haue slayn you
for your rylandrye . and lucrese that than doubted more
the shame of the world than the deth . consentyd to hym /
And anone after as the emperours sone Was departed .
the lady sent letters to her husbond her fader her brethren
and to her frendes and to a man calld brute counayllour
and newe to tarquyn / and sayd to them / that yester day
Syte the emperours sone cam in to myn hows as an ene-
mye in liknes of a frende . and hath oppressyd me . And

knowe thou Colatyn that he hath dishonouryd thy bedde,
And how Wel that he hath soyled and dishonoured my so-
dy. yet myn herte is not. Wherefore I beseeche the of pardon
forpynnes and absolution of the trespass but not of the
payne. And he that hath don thys synne to me hit shal
ben to his myschaunce yf ye doo your deuopr. and bycause
no Woman take ensauple of lucesse and lyue after the
trespas. but that she in lyke wyse take ensauple also of
the payne. And forthwyth With a Werde that she helde
vnder her gowne or robe, she wof her self vnto the herte
And deyed forthwyth to fore them. and thenne brute the
counceyller and her husbond collatyn and alle her other
frendes Wore by the blood of lucesse that they wold ne-
uer reste vnto the tyme that they had put out of Rome tar-
quyn and al his kyng. And that neuer after none of
them shold come to dygnyte. and al this Was don. For
they bare the deed corps thurgh the cyte and meurdy the
peple in such wyse. That tarquyn Was put in cyppe. and
Syppe his sone Was slayn. A quene ought to be Wel
manerd and amonge alle she ought to be tumerous and
Shamefast. For Whan a Woman hath lost Shamefastnes
she may nez can not beel be chaste. Wherefore sayth Sy-
machus that they that ben not Shamefast haue no conscie-
nce of lypurpe. And saynt ambrose sayth that one of
the best prementes and maketh a Woman most fayr in
her persone. is to be Shamefast. Seneque reherceth that
there Was one named archezylle Whiche Was so Shamefast
that she put in a pelowe of fethers a certeyn somme of
money. and put hit vnder the heed of a poure frende of

herys/ Whiche dysmypled his puerite and? Wolde not nor
durst not be a knowen of his puerite. for shame he durst
not gyue it openly. but had leuer that he shold fynde hyt
than that he had gyuen hit hym. Wherefore otherwhile men
shold gyue & helpe her frendes so secretly. that they knowe
not Whens it come, for Whan we kepe it secret and? make
no. losse therof. our dedes and Werkes shal please god and
them also. A Quene ought to be chosen Whan she shal be
Weddyd of the moste honest kynrede and peple/ for often ty
mes the daughters folowen the tatches & maners of theym
that they be dyscended from. Wherof Valerius maximus
sayth that there Was one that Wold marie. Whiche cam to
a philosopher and aryd counceyl What Wyf he myght best
take. he answered that he shold take her that thou knowest
certeynly that her moder & her graundame haue ben chaste
and Wel condpcioned. for suche moder /suche daughter co
munely / Also a quene ought to teche her chyl dren to ben
contynent and kepe chastite entierly. as hit is Wryten in
ecclesiastes. yf thou haue sones enseigne and? teche them
and yf thou haue daughters kepe Wel them in chastite.
For Selemonde referreth that euery kynge & prynce ought
to be a clerke for to comaunde to othez to stude and? rede
the lawe of our lord? god. and therefore Wrote themproux
to the kyng of fraunce that he shold do lerne his children
sones the seven sciencas liberal and sayd amonge othez
thynges that a kyng not lettrid resemblith an asse cow
red / Themproux octouyan maad his sones to be taught
and lerne to Wynter / to sprynge and? lepe / to Juste / to
playe Wyth the ape and Werde and al maner thyng that

apperteyneth to a knyght, and his daughters he made hem
to lerne to sew .to spynne to labour as Wel in Wolle as
in linnen cloth .and al other Werkis langyng to Women,
And Whan his frendes demaunded? Wherfore he dyd so . he
answerd how Wel that he Was lord and Syr of alle the
World .yet Wyse he not What shold befall of his children
and Whether they shold? falle or come to puerite or noo /
and therfore yf they conne a good crafte they may alwey
lyue honestly . The Quene ought to kepe her daughters in
alle chastyte. For We rede of many maydens that for their
virgynyte haue ben maad quenes , For Woule the hysto
riograph of the lombardes reherceth that ther Was a du
chesse named remonde Whiche had thre sones & ij daughters
And hit happend that the kynge of Hongre cantauus as
sayled a castel Where she and her chyldren Were Inne /
And on a day she behelde her enemyes , and amonge alle
other she sawe the kyng that he Was a Wel faryng and a
goodly man . Anone she Was espyed? and taken Wyth
his loue .and that so sore that forthwyth she sent to hym
that she wold delyuer ouer the castel to hym yf he wold?
take her to his Wyf and? Wedde her , And he agreed ther to
and Ware that he wold haue her to his Wyf on that con
dicion . Whan than the kyng Was in the castel / his peple
took men and Women and alle that they fonde , her soones
fledde from her / of Whome one Was named? Ermoaldus &
Was yongest / and after Was duc of loneuentan & sithen
kyng of the lumbardis / and? the two susters toke chy
kens and put hem vnder her armes next the flessch and?
bywene her pappe / that of the hete and chauffyng the

flessh of the chikyns stanke; and Whan so Was that they
of hongrye Wold haue enforced and defolled anone they
felte the stencche and fledde aWay and so lefte hem sayeng
fy hold these lombardes synke . and so they kepte theyr
virgynyte . Wherefore that one of hem after Ward Was
quene of fraunce / and that other quene of almayn; and
hit happend thenne that the kyng catanus toke acoording
to his promyse the duchesse / and lay Wyth her one nyght
for to saue his ooth . & on the morne he made her comune
vnto al the hungres / And the thyrde day after he dyd doo
put a staf of tre fro the nether parte of her . thurgh her
lody vnto her throte or mouthe / for by cause of the luste
of her flessh he betrayed her cyte and sayd suche husbond
suche Wyf . and this suffyseth of the quene

The thyrd chapytze of the second troyte treteth of the
 Alphyns her offyces and maners capitulo tercio



The alphyns ought to be maad and formed in mane
 t ze of Juges sittyngh in a chayer Wyth a booke open
 tofore theyr eyen, and that is by cause that some causes
 ben crymynel, And some ben cyuple as about possessions
 and other temporel thynges and trespasses / and therefore
 ought to be two Juges in the wyame / one in the black
 for the first cause, And that other in White as for the se:
 cond. Theyr offyce is for to counceyple the kyng. And
 to make by his comaundementis good lawes & to enforce

alle the wyame in good and vertuous maners / And to
Juge and gyue sentence Wel and trewly after the case is
had . and to counceyl Wel and Justely alle them that are
counceyl of hem / Wyth out haupnyng of ony eye opene to
ony persone / And to estudye diligently in such wyse and
to ordeigne alle that, that ought to be kept he obscuryd he
faste and stable / So that they be not founde corrupt . for
pette for fauour ne for signage ne for enuye variable .
And as touchyng the first poynt Seneque saith in the
book of benefets that the poure diogenes Was more strong
than alexandre / For Alexandre coude not gyue so muche
as diogenes Wold refuse . Marcus cursus a romayn of
grette renomee saith thus . that When he had besieged and
assayled them of Samentis / and beneuentanis Which herde
that he Was poure / they took a grette masse and Wedge
of gold & sendyd hit to hym prayeng hym that he Wold
rescue hit and leue his assault and siege / and When they
came With the present to hym they fond hym sittynge on
the erthe and ete his mete out of platres and dysshes of
tree and of Wode . and did than her message / to Whom he
answerd and said that they shold goo home and saie to
them that sente them that Marcus cursus loueth better
to be lord and Wynnne riches than riches shold Wynnne
hym . For by batayle he shal not be ouercome and Wynn
quysshed / nor by gold ne siluer he shal not be corrupt ne
corrupted . Oftentymes that thyng taketh an euill ende
that is entrewe for gold and siluer . and that a man is
subget vnto money may not be lord therof / Helymond
rehereth that demostene demaunded of aristodone how muche

he had Donne for pletyngh of a cause for hys client. And
he answered a mark of golde. Demostenes answered to
hym agayn / that he had Donne as moche for to holde hys
pees and speke not thus the tinges of aduocates & men
of lawe ben perilous & domegeable. yet they must be had
yf thou wilt wyne thy cause. for With money and pesty
thou shalt wyne. & oftentymes they selle as wel theyr
saience / as their vtterance. Valerius referaith that the se
natours of rome took counceill to geder of two persones
that one was poure & that other rich and couetous, Whiche
of hem sothe were most apte for to sende to gouerne and
Iuge the contree of spayn, And sappoon of affrique said
that none of hem sothe were good ne proffitable to be
sent thider. For that one hath no thyng. And to that
other may no thyng suffyse, And despyed in hys
sayengh alle puerite and auarice in a Iuge. For a co
uetous man hath nede of an halpyn. for he is seruaunt
and bonde vnto money / and not lord thereof but puerite
of herte and of wyll ought to be greatly allowed in a
Iuge, Therefore we rede that as longe as the Romayns
louyd puerite they were lordys of alle the world, For
many there were that exposed al theyr goodes for the co
myn wele. and for that was most proffitable for the co
mynalte that they were so poure that when they were dede
they were buryed and brought to erthe wyth the co
myn good, And theyr daughters were marped by
the comaundement of the senatours. but sithen that they
despyed puerite / & begonne to gadre riches. & haue made
grete satapylls. they haue vsed many synnes / and so the

comyn Wele perished/for ther is no synne but that it rig
neth there/there is none that is so blisful as he that hath
al the World in despite / For he is in pees that dredith no
man / & he is rich that coueteth no thyng/Valere rehereth
that he is not rich that moche hath/but he is rich that hath
kith & coueyteth no thyng/than thus late the Iuges take
hede that they enclayne not for loue or for hate in ony Iu
gement /for theofrast saith that all loue is blynde .there
loue is .there can not right Iugement be gyuen . for all
loue is blynde .and therfore loue is none euyr Iuge+for
ofte tymes loue Iugeth a fowle and lothly Woman to be
fayr / And so rehereth quinte curse in his first booke that
the grete godaches saith the same to Alxandre / Men
may saye in this caas that nature is euyr / For euery
man is lasse aduysed and worse in his owne feet and
cause than in another mannyngs . And therfore the Iuges
ought to kepe hem wel from Ire in Iugement, Tullyus
sayth that an angry and prous persone Beneth that for
to doo euyr is good counayl/and socrates saith that wo
thynges ben contrarious to counayl / & they ben hastynes
and Wrath . and galeren sayth in Alexandre , yf yre or
Wrath ouercome the Whan thou sholdest geue Iugement /
Wepe all thyng in the balaunce so that thy Iugement be
not enclyned by loue ne by yest . ne fauor of persone for
ne not thy courage . Helmond rehereth that ambyses
kyng of perce Whiche Was a right Wis kyng had an vn
right Wis Iuge /Whiche for enuye & euyr Wyll had dāpned
a man Wrongfully and agaynst right / Wherfore he dyd
hym to be flayn al quyk and made the chayer or siege of

Jugement to be couerid Wyth his skyn/and made his sone
 Juge and to sitte in the chayer on the skyn of his fader. to
 thende that the sone shold Juge right Wyssly, & abhorre the
 Jugement & payne of his fader. Judges ought to punyshe
 the defaultes equally/& fulfillle the lawe that they ordeyne.
 Caton saith accomplishe and do the lawe in suche Wyse as
 thou hast ordeigned & geuen, Valerius reherceth that calen
 gius a consul had a sone Whiche Was taken in aduoultrye
 & therefore after the lawe at that tyme he Was dampned to
 lose bothe his eyen. the fader Wold that the lawe shold be
 accomplisshed in his sone Wyth out fauour. but al the cite
 Was meuyd her Wyth and Wold not suffre hit /but in the
 ende his fader Was raynquysshed by theyr prayers. And
 ordeyned that his sone shold lese one eye Whych Was put
 out. And he hym self lost an other eye. And thus
 Was the lawe obseruyd and kept. And the prayer of
 the peple Was accomplisshed, We rede that there Was
 a counceyllour of rome that had gyuen counceyll to ma
 ke a statute that Who some euer that entryd in to the se
 natoyr and a Werde gyrt aboute hym shold be deed. Than
 hit happend on a tyme that he came from Without & entrid
 in to the senatoir & his Werde gyrt aboute hym. Wherof he
 toke none hede/& one of the senatours told hym of hit, &
 When he knewe hit & remembred the statute he drewe out his
 Werde & slewe hym self tofore them. rather to dye than to
 breke the lawe /for Whos dethe alle the senatours maad
 grete sorowe / But alas We fynde not many in thys day
 es that so do / But they do lyke as anastasyus saith that
 the lawes of some kyng like vnto the nettis of spynowis

that take no grette bestes and fowles but let goo and flee
thruogh/ but they take flies & gnattes & such small thynges / In like wise the lasses nob. adapes ben not exeu-
ted but vpon the poure peple + the grette & riche breke hit &
goo thruogh With al / and for this cause souden batailles &
discordes & make the grette & riche men to take by force &
strengthe lordshippis & seignories. vpon the small & poure
peple / & this doo they specially that ben gentil of signage
& poure of goodes / & causeth them to robbe & reue / and yet
constrayne them by force to serue them. & this is no mer-
uayle / for they that drede not to angre god, nor to breke
the lawe & to falsse hit / falle often tymes by force in moche
curstnes & Wickednes. but Whan the grette peple do acor-
dyng to the lawe / and punyssh the transgressours sharps-
ly / The comyn peple abstepne & Withdrawe hem fro doynge
of euyl and chastiseth hem self by theyr example / And
the Iuges ought to entende for to stude. For yf the
 Smythes the carpenters the Wighours and other crafty-
men say that it is not necessarye to stude for the comyn
proffit / And glorefye them in their conyng and say that
they ben profitabill. than shold the Iuges stude and con-
templaire moche more than they in that that shold be for
the comyn Wele. Wherefore saith seneca beleue me that they
seme that they do no thyng / they do more than they that
laboure for they do spiriuel & also corporal. Werkis. And
therfore amōge artificers ther is no plesant rest / but that
reson of the Iuges hath maad & ordeyned hit. & therfore
anglius saith in / li / atticor de socrate, that socrates Was
on a tyme so pensif that in an hole naturel day, he helde one

estate that he ne meued mouth ne eye ne foot ne hand but
 Was as he had ten deed or myssed; and Whan one demaun-
 ded hym Wherfore he Was so pensif. he answered in al Worlde
 by thynges and labours of the same and helde hym four-
 ges and Cytizeyn of the Worlde and Valerius reherceth
 that carnardes a knyght Was so sage Wyse and labourous
 in pensifnes of the comyn Wele / that Whan he Was sette
 atte table for to ete, he forgate to put his hond into the
 mete to fede hym self / and therfore his Wyf that Was na-
 med Mellyse Whom he had taken more to haue her com-
 nyte and felawshyp than for ony other thyng / Fedde
 hym to thende that he shold not dye for hongre in his pen-
 sifnes. Didimus sayd to alexandre We be not deynseyne
 in the Worlde but straungers / nor we ten not born in the
 Worlde for to dwelle and abyde alwey therein. but for to
 goo and passe thugh hit. We haue doon noon euyl dede.
 but that it is Worthy, to be punysshed & we to suffre payne
 therfore, and thenne we may goon With open face & good
 conscienc. And so may we goo lightly and apertly the
 Way that we hope and purpose to goo. This suffyseth as
 for the Alphons /

The fourth chapitre of the second booke treateth of the ordre
of cheualrye and knygthhode and of her offyces and
maners capitulo quarto



The knyght ought to be maad al armed vpon an
t hors in suche wise that he haue an helme on his heed
and a spere in his right hond / & couerid with his shelde, a
werd & a mace on his left syde. clad with an haberk &
plates tofore his breste. legge barnoyes on his legges. sp
res on his heelis, on his handes his gauntelettes. his
hors wel broken & taught and apte to bataylle & coueryd
with his armes. When the knyghtes ben maad they ben
bayned or bathed. That is the signe that they holden lede

a newe kyf and newe maners . also they wake alle the
nyght in prayers and orisons vnto god that he wil geue
hem grace that they may gete that thyng that they may
not gete by nature , The kyng or pryncer gyrdeth a houte
them a Werde in signe , that they shold abyde and kepen
hym of Whom they taken theire dispences and dignyte .
Also a knyght ought to be Wyse liberalle / trewe . strong
and ful of mercy and pyte and kepz of the peple and of
the lawe / and right as cheualrye passeth other in vertue
in dignyte in honour and in reuerence , right so ought he
to surmounte alle other in vertue . for honour is no thyng
ellys but to do reuerence to another persone for the good &
vertuous disposicion that is in hym , A noble knyght
ought to be Wyse and prouyd tofore he be maad knyght ,
hit behoued hym that he had long tyme vsyd the Warre &
armes . that he may be expert and Wyse for to gouerne
the other / For sithen that a knyght is capitayn of a ka
taye . the kyf of them that shal be vnder hym lyeth in his
honde / and therfore behoueth hym to be Wyse & wel aduy
sed , For somtyme art craft and engyne is more worthe
than strengthe or hardynes of a man that is not proued
in armes / for other While it happeth that Whan the pryncer
of the katayl affyeth and trusteth in his hardynes and
strengthe , and wol not vse wysdom and engyne for to
renne vpon his enemyes / he is Raynquysshed & his peple
slayn . therfore saith the philosopher that no man shold
chese yong peple to be captayns & gouernours / for as moche
as ther is no certeynte in her wisdom / alexandre of macedo
ne Raynquysshed & conquered Egypte , Jude , calde & Affrique

and assyue Into the marches of brigmans more by the
counceyl of olde men than by the strengthe of the yong
men . We rede in the hystorie ofrome that there was a
knyght Whiche had to name malechete that was so wysse &
true that When the emperour Theodosius was dede He
made mortal warre agens his broder germany Which was
named Gylde or Guye . for as moche as this sayd guye
wold be lord of affrique With out lye and wyll of the ses
natours / and this sayd Guye had slayn the two sones of
his broder malechete , And dyd moche torment Into the
cristen peple , and afore that he shold come in to the felde
agens his broder Guyon . he Went in to an yle of campe
and hadde With hym al the cristen men , that had ben sent
theder in exyle . And maad hem alle to praye With hym
by the space of thre dayes and thre nyghtes . For he had
grette affyaunce and truste in the prayers and orisons of
good folke and specially that no man myght counceyl ne
helpe but god / And thre dayes tofore he shold fight saynt
Ambrose Whiche was dede a litil tofore apperyd to hym &
shewed hym by reuelacon the tyme and howe that he shold
haue victorie . And for so moche as he had ben in dayes
and thre nyghtes in orisons & prayers and that he was
assured for to haue victorie , he fought With fyue thou
sand men agens his broder that had in his compaignie four
score thousand men . and by goddes helpe he had victorie
And When the barbarians that were comen to helpe guyon
saue the discomfiture they fledde alwey And guyon fledde
also in to affrique by hyppie And When he was there a
ryued he was sone after strangled . These two knyghtes

of Whom I speke Were also brethren germanys . Whiche
Were sent in to assaue for to defende the comyn Wele .
In lyke wyse Judas machabeus / Jonathas / and Symon
his brethren put them self in the mercy and garde of our
lord god , And ageyn the enemyes of the lalbe of god
With hitl people in regarde of the multitude that Were a
gayn them . And had also victorie / The knyghtes
ought to ben trewe to theyr prynces , For he that is not
trewe lefeth the name of a knyght . Vnto a pryncer trouth
is the grettest precious stone Whan hit is medlid wyth
Justyce . Paule the hystoriagraphe of the lombardes refer
eth that there Was a knyght named Enulphus & Was
of the cyte of yppe that Was so trewe and faythful to
his lord and kynge named matharich that he put hym in
myrre of deth for hym . For hit happend that Grymalde
duc of buneuentayns of Whom We haue touched tofore in
the chapytre of the queene . dyd do flee Godebert Whiche
Was kynge of the lombardes by the hande of goribert duc
of tarente / Whiche Was descended of the crowne of lom
bardes . And this grymalde Was maad kynge of lombar
de in his place and after this put and banysshed out of
the contrey this matharich Whiche Was brother vnto the
kynge Godebert . that for fere and drede fledde in to hon
grye . And thence this knyght enulphus dyd so moche
that he gat the pees agayn of his lord matharich agaynst
the kynge grymalde . And that he had lience to come
out of hongrye Where he Was alwey in purrell . and so he
coud and cryed hym mercy / And the kynge Grymalde
gaf hym leue to dwelle and to lyue honestly in his contrey

alwey forseen that he took not vpon hym & namede hym
self kyng. How Wel he Was kyng by right / This doon
a litel Whyle after / the kyng that beleuyd euyl tongues /
thought in hym self how he myght bryng this patharich
vnto the deth . and al thys knewe Wel the knyght Enul
phus / Whiche came the same nyght With his squyer for to
vysite his lord + and maad hys squyer to vnclothe hym &
to lye in the bedde of his lord and maad his lord to rise
and clothe hym With the clothes of his squyer / And in
this Wyse brought hym out . bawbyng and letyng hym
as his seruaunt by them that Were assigned to kepe the
howes of patharich that he shold not escape / Whiche supposid
that hit had been his squyer that he entreted so outrage
ously / and so he brought hym vnto his howes Whiche Joy
ned Wyth the Wallis of the towne . And at mydnyght
When al men Were a slepe . he lette a down his maistre by a
corde . Whiche took an hors out of the pasture and fledde
vnto the cite of aast & there cam to the kyng of fraunce
And When it cam vnto the morne / hit Was founden that
enulphus and his squyer had deceyued the kyng and the
Watchemen / Whom the kyng comaunded shold he brought
tofore hym / and demaunded of them the maner how he
Was escapyd / and they tolde hym the trouthe / Thenne
the kyng demaunded his counceyl of What deth they had de
seruyd to dye that had so doon and brought agayn the
Wyll of hym / Somme said that they shold ben hanged
& some said they shold be flayn / and other said that they
shold be beheaded . Than said the kyng by that lord that
maad me . they ben not worthy to dye . but for to haue

moche Worshyp and honour, For they haue ben trewe to
theyr lord + Wherefore the kyng gaf hem a grette lorde and
honour for theyr fea. And after hit happend that the pro
pre squyer and seruaunt of Godeherd slewe the knyght
Goryphalde that by treson had slayn his lorde at a feste
of Saynt John in his cyte of tarente Wherof he Was lord
and duc, Thus ought the knyghtes to loue to gyder + &
eche to put his lyf in auenture for other. For so keen they
the stronger and the more doubted. lyke as Were the no
ble knyghtes Joab and abysay that fought ageynst the
spryens and amonys and Were so trewe that one to that
other that they Raynquysshed theyr enemyes, And Were
so ioyned to gyder that yf the synens Were stronger thene
that one of them. that other helpe hym, We rede that
damon and phisias Were so right purficht frendes to gy
der that Whan dionysius Whiche Was kyng of zealle had
Jugged one to deth for his trespass in the cyte of Siracu
sane Whom he Wold haue executed. he desired grace & leue
to goo in to his contre for to dispose & ordeyne his testa
ment, And his felawe pledgyd hym and Was selwte for
hym vpon his heed that he shold come agayn/Wherof they
that herde and sawe this helde hym for a fool & blamed
hym. And he sayd alwey that he repentyd hym no thyng
at all. For he knewe wel the trowth of his felawe and
Whan the day cam and the houre that execution shold be
doon. his felawe cam and presented hym self tofore the
Juge. and dischargid his felawe that Was pledge for hym
Wherof the kyng Was gretely assayed. and for the grette
trowth that Was founden in hym, he pardenyd hym and

prynced hem sothe that they wold receyue hym as theyre
grette frende and? felowe . to see the vertues of loue that
a man ought not to doubt the deeth for his frende / So
What it is to doo for a frende . and to lede a lyf desonapz /
and to be wyth out crueltie . to loue & not to hate / Whych
causeth to doo good agens t euyl . and to torene payne in to
benefete and to quench crueltie . Anthonyus sayth that
Julius cesar lefte not lightly frendshyp and? amytie /
But Whan he had hit . he receyued hit faste & mayntened
hit alwey . Scipion of affrique sayth that there is no
thyng so stronge as for to maynteyne loue vnto the deeth
The loue of concupiscence and of lecherie is sone dissol-
uyd and broken . but the verray true loue of the comyn
wele and proffyt now a dayes is selde founden / Where shal
thou fynde a man in thisse dayes that wyl expose hym self
for the wealshyp & honour of his frende / or for the comyn
wele . selde or neuer shal he be founden / also the knyghtes
hold? be large and liberal / For Whan a knyght hath re-
garde vnto his synghular proffyt by his couetyse . he dys-
pyleth his peple / For Whan the souldoyers se that they
put hem in pael . and thei?r mayster wyl not pay hem
theyr wages liberally / but entendeth to his owne propre
gayn and proffyt ; than Whan the enemyes come they
torne sone for lackes and flee often tymes / And thus hit
happeth by hym that entendeth more to gete money than
byctorye that his auarice is ofte tymes cause of his con-
fusion / Therne lete euery knyght take hede to be libérale
in suche wyse that he bene not ne suppose that his scarrete
be to hym a grette bynnyng or gayn / And for this cause

he be the laste loupd of his peple . and that his aduersa :
rye Wythdradde to hym them by large geuyng . For ofte
tyme batayle is auauaced more for getyng of siluer than
by the force and strengthe of men . For men see alle day
that suche thynges as may not be achpeuyd by force of
nature . ben gotten and achpeued by force of money . And
for so moche it behoueth to see Wel to that Whan the tyme
of batayle cometh that he knowe not ne make no tpayllage
For no man may be riche that leuyth his owne / hoppyn
to gete and take of othez / Than alwey al her gayn and
Wynnynng ought to be comyn emongh euey thez armes
For in like wyse as the byctorye is comune / so shold the
dispyle and lotype be comune vnto them , And therfore
daupd that gentyl knyght in the first booke of kynges in
the last chapytre made a lawe . that he that alode schynde
by maladye or sekene in the tentes shold haue as moche
parte of the butyn as he that had ben in the batayle . And
for the loue of this lawe he was maad after Ward kyng
of Israel , Alipandre of macedone cam on a tyme toke
a symple knyght vnto the court of pouis kyng of Vnde
for to espye the state of the kyng and of the knyghtes of
the court , And the kyng receyuyd hym right Worschyp :
fully . And demaunded of hym many thynges of Alip :
ander and of his constance and strengthe . nothyng be :
nyng that he had ben alipander / but antygone one of
his knyghtes , and after he had hym to dinez . and Whan
they had seruyd alipander in testayl of gold and syluer
With diuerse metes , After that he had eten suche as plesid
hym he boyded the mete & toke the testayl and helde hit to

hym self and put hit in his bosom or sleups. Wherof he
Was accusid vnto the kyng. After dyner thene the kyng
callid hym and demanded hym Wherfore he had taken hys
Passayl and he answered. Sir kyng my lord I pray the
to vnderstonde and take hede thy self & also thy knyghtes
I haue herd moche of thy grete byghnes and that thou
art more myghty and puyssaunt in cheualrye and in dis
pencis than is Alexander. and therefore I am come to the
a poure knyght Whiche am named Antygone for to serue
the. Than hit is the custome in the court of Alexander
that What thyng a knyght is seruyd Wyth alle is hys
mete and drinke and cuppe. and therefore I had supposid
that this custome had ben kept in thy court, for thou art
richer than he / When the knyghtes herde this, anon they
lefte pouris. and Went to serue Alexander and thus he
drew to hym the hertes of hem by pestes, Whiche after
ward slewe pouris that Was kyng of ynde. and they maad
Alexander kyng therof. Therefore remembre knyght
alwey that Wyth a closid and sette purse shalt thou neuer
haue victorie / Ouyde saith that he that taketh pestes, he
is glad therwyth. For they Wynne Wyth pestes the her
tes of the goddes and of men. For yf Iuppiter Were an
grid. With pestes he wold be plesid. the knyghtes ought
to be stronge not onely of body but also in courage. there
ben many stronge and grete of body, that ben faynt and
feble in the herte / he is stronge that may not be traynquyl
shed and overcome. how Wel that he suffrith moche other
Whyle / And so we beleue that they that be not ouergrete
ne ouer fild ben most courageous and beste in bataylle,

We rede that cædrus duc of athenes shold haue a bataylle
agayn them of polipe / And he Was Warned and had a re-
uelacion of the goddess / that they shold haue the victorie
of Whom the pryncer shold be slayn in the bataylle . And
the pryncer Whiche Was of a grete courage and trewe herte
took othere armes of a poure man / and put hym self in
the fronte of the bataylle to thende that he myght be slayn
and so he Was / For the right trewe pryncer had leuer
dye / than his peple shold be ouercomen . and so they had the
victorie / Certes hit Was a noble and a fayr thyng to
expose hym self to the deth for to deffende his contraye ,
But no man wold do so but yf he hoppe to haue a better
thyng therfore / Therefore the ladde sayth that they lyue
in her sowles gloriously that ben slayn in the warre for
the comyn wele . A knyght ought also to be meysful &
pietous / For there is no thyng that maketh a knyght
so renomed as is Whan he sauyth the lyf of them that he
may see / For to shedde and spylle blood is the condicion
of a wyld best and not the condicion of a good knyght
Therefore We rede that scilla that Was duc of the romayns
With out had many fair victories agaynst the romayns &
Within that Were contraye to hym in so moche that in the
bataylle of pupple he slewe xiiij thousand men . And in
champaigne lxx thousand / and after in the cite he slewe
thre thousand men vnarmed . & Whan one of his knygh-
tes that Was named Quintus catulus saide this cruelle
sayd to hym / Seeste now and suffre them to lyue and be
meysful to them Wyth Whome We haue ben victorious . &
Wyth Whom We ought to lyue / For it is the most best

and fair vengeance that a man may do, as to spare them
and give them her life whom he may see. Therefore Joab
ordained when Absalon was slain. he sold a trumpet
that his people should no more runne and flee their aduersa-
ries, For there were slain about xx thousand of them.
And in like wise dyd he when he fought against Abner,
and Abner was conquerred and fledde. For where that
he went in the chace he commaunded to spare the people.
The knyghtes ought to kepe the people for when the people
ben in their tentis or castellis. the knyghtes ought to kepe
the watch, For this cause the romayns calld them le-
gons, and they were made of dyuerse prouynces and of
dyuerse nacions to thentente to kepe the people, And the
people should entende to their worke, For no crafty man
may sothe entende to his craft and to fight. How may a
crafty man entende to his worke secretly in tyme of warre
but yf he be kept. and right in such wise as the knyghtes
should kepe the people in tyme of pees in like wise the people
ought to purueye for their dispens. How should a plow
man be seure in the felde but yf the knyghtes made dayly
watch to kepe them. For like as the glorie of a kynge
is vpon his knyghtes. So it is necessarye to the knygh-
tes that the marchantes crafty men and comyn people be
defended and kept. Therefore late the knyghtes kepe
the people in such wise that they may enioye pees and gete
and gadre the costis and expens of them sothe. We rede
that althis sayde to dauid which was a knyght. I make
the my keepre & defendar al wey. Thus should the knyghtes
haue grete zele that the ladde be kept. For the mageste

Ryal ought not onely to be garnysshed wth armes but
also wth good lawes . And therefore shold they labour
that they shold be wel kepte , Turgeus pompeus referaith
of a noble knyght named ligurgus that had made aun:
cient lawes the whiche the peple wold not kepe ne obserue
for they seemed hard for them to kepe, and wold constreyn
hym to rapelle & sette hem aparte / When the noble knyght
saide that . he dyd the peple to vnderstande that he had not
made them . but a god that was named apollo delphynus
had made them , & had comaunded hym that he shold do the
peple kepe them / these wordes auayled not / they wold in
no wyse kepe them . And than he sayd to them that it were
good that in the sayd lawes shold be broken that he had
gauen to them / that he shold goo and speke wth the god
Apollo / For to gete of hym a dispensacion to breke hem
and that the peple shold kepe and obserue them tyl that he
retorned agayn / the peple accorded thereto and swore that
they shold kepe them vnto the tyme he retorned / than the
knyght went in to grece in exyle and dwellyd there alle
his tye / And when he shold dye he comaunded that his
body shold be cast in the see / for as moche as yf his body
shold be borne thider . the peple shold bene to be quyt of
theyr othe . and shold kepe no lenger his lawes that were
so good & resonable . that the knyght had leuer to forsake
his owne contre & to dye so than to rapelle his lawes .
and his lawes were such / The first lawe was that the pe
ple shold obeye and serue the prynces / And the pryn:
ces shold kepe the peple and doo Justyce on the malefac
tours . the second lawe that they shold be al sobre . For

he Wyfſt Wel that the labour of cheualrye is moſt ſtronge
Whan they lyue ſoberly / the thyrd Was that no man ſhold
bye any thyng for money but they ſhold chaunge Ware for
Ware / and one marchaundyſe for another / the fourth Was
that men ſhold ſette nomore by money ner kepe hit more
than they Wold dunge oz filthe / the fifthe he ordeyned for
the comyn Wele alle thyng by ordre / that the prynces
myght meue and make bataylle by her power . to the maiſ-
ters counſellours he compeſed the Jugementis / and the
annuel rentes / to the ſenatours the keepng of the lawe .
and to the comyn peple he gaf power to cheſe ſuche Judges
as they Wold haue / the ſixte he ordeyned that alle thyng
ſhold be departed egally & al thyng ſhold be comyn . & none
richer tha other in patrimony / the vii that euery man ſhold
eate lyke Wel in comyn oppny . that richesse ſhold not be
cauſe of ſupurpe Whan they ete ſecretly . the viii that the
yonge peple ſhold not haue but one goldne or garment in
the yere / The ix that men ſhold ſette poure children to la-
boure in the felde to thende that they ſhold not enploye
theyr yongthe in playes and ſolpe but in labour . The
tenth that the maydens ſhold be married Wythout dowaire
in ſuche Wyſe that no man ſhold take a Wyf for money .
The xi that men ſhold rather take a Wyf for her good ma-
ners and vertues than for her richesses / the xii that men
ſhold Worſhyy the olde and auncient men for theyr age and
more for theyr Wyſedom than for her riches / This knyght
made none of theſe lawes but he fiſt kepte hem /

The fyfthe chappytze of the second booke of the forme
and maners of the Rookes capitulo quinto



The rookes Whiche ben bycapys and legates of the
t kynge ought to be maad a knyght. Upon an hors &
a mantel and hood furnid With meneuier holdyng a staf in
his hand / & for as moche as a kyng may not be in al pla
ces of his royaume / therefore the auctorite of hym is gyuen
to the rookes . Whiche represente the kyng . & for as moche
as a royaume is grete and large / and that rebellyon or
noueltes myght sourde and aryse in one partye or other /
therefore ther ben two rookes one on the right syde and
that other on the left syde / They ought to haue in hem pyte
Justice / humylyte . Wyllful pouerte / and clemencyte /

first Justyce for it is most fayr of the vertues / For hit
happeth ofte tyme that the mynystres by theyr pryde and
argueyl subuerthe Justyce and doo no right / Wherefore the
kynges otherwhyle lose theyr wyames Wyth out theyr
culpe or gylte / For an vntrewe Juge or offycer ma
keth his lord to be named vniuste and euyl / & contrarie
Wyse a trewe mynystre of the lawe and right wys / causeth
the kyng to be reputed Just & trewe / The womayne ther
fore maad good lawes and Wold that they shold be Juste
and trewe / and they that establisshid them for to gouerne
the peple . Wold in no Wyse breke them / but kepe them
for to dye for them / For the auncient and Wyse men said
comynly that it Was not good to make and ordeyne that
lawe that is not Just . Wherof Valerius reherceth that
there Was a man that Was named Themistocles Whiche
came to the counceyllours of athenes and sayd that he
knewe a counceyl Whiche Was right proffyttable for them
But he Wold telle hit but to one of them Whom that
they Wold . And they assygned to hym a Wyse man na
med aristocles . And When he had vnderstonde hym he cam
agayn to the other of the counceyl / and sayd that the
counceyl of themistocles Was Wel proffyttable / but hit Was
not Just / howe he hit ye may reuolue hit in your mynde /
and the counceyl that he sayd Was this . that there Were
comen two grete shippes fro laedome and Were arryued
in theyr londe / & that hit Were good to take them / & When
the counceyl herde hym that sayd / that hit Was not Juste
nez right / they left hem al in pees & Wold not haue a doo
With al . the Vicair or iuge of the kyng ought to be so iust

that he shold enploye al his entente to saue the comyn We
le . and yf hit Were nede to put his lyf and lose hit ther :
fore / We haue an ensauple of marcus regulus Wherof
Tullyus referceth in the booke of offyces . And Saynt
Augustyn also de Ciuitate dei. how he faught agayn them
of cartage by see in shippes and Was Raynquysshed and
taken . Than hit happend that they of cartage sent him in
her message to come for to haue theyr prysoners there / for
them that Were taken . and so to chaunge one for another /
And made hym Were and promyse to come ageyn . And
so he came to rome , and made proposicion tofore the senate
And demaunded them of cartage of the senatours to be
chaunged as afore is sayd , and than the Senatours de
maunded hym What counceyl he gaf . certeyn sayd he I
counuceyll yow that ye doo hit not in no Wyse . For as
moche as the peple of rome that they of cartage holde in
pryson of yowis / Ben olde men and bruisid in the Warre
as I am my self , But they that ye holde in pryson of
theyr peple is alle the floure of alle theyr folke Whiche
couunceyl they took . & than his frendes Wold haue holden
hym & coucilled them to abyde there & not retorne agayn
prysoner in to cartage / but he Wold neuer do so / nez abyde
but Wold goo agayn & kepe his oth / how Wel that he kne
we that he Went toWard his deth , for he had leuer dye than
to breke his oth / Valerius referceth in the ij booke of one
emetie duc of the romayns . that in the tyme When he had
assiegid the phalistes . the soole maistre of the children de
ceyuyd the children of the gentylmen that he drewe hym a
litil & a litil vnto the tetis of the romayns by fayr speche
d in

And sayd to the duc emelye + that by the moyn of the
chyldeyn that he had brought to hym . He shold haue the
crite . For theyz faders Were lordes and gouernours /
Whan emelye had herd hym he said thus to hym / Thou
that art euyl and cruel . And thou that woldest gyue a
gyfte of grete felonye and of mauastrye , thou shalt ner
hast not founden here / duc ne peple that resemblith the .
We haue also Wel labbes to kepe in batayle and Warre / as
in our contrees and othez places / And We wol obserue
and kepe them vnto euery man as they ought to be kept
and We ben armed apenst our enemyes that wol defende
them . and not apenst them that can not saue their lyf
Whan their contre is taken . as thise litil chyldeyn , Thou
hast traynquysshed them as moche as is in the by thy newe
decepuable falsnes & by subtilnes & not by armes , But I
that am a womayn shal traynquyssh the by craft & strength
of armes / And anone he comaunded to take the sayd
scole maister and to bynde his handes behynde hym as a
traytour and lide hym vnto the parentes of the chyldeyn /
And Whan the faders and parentes sawe the grete curtyse
ye that he had doon to them , They opened the pates and
yelded them vnto hym . We rede that Hanybal had ta-
ken a prync of rone whiche vpon his othe & promyse suf-
fred hym to goo home , & to sende hym his raunson . or he
shold come agayn With in a certeyn tyme / & Whan he Was
at home in his place / he said that he had deceyued hym by a
falsse oth / And Whan the senatours knewe therof / they
constrayned hym to retorne agayn vnto hanybal /
Amos florus tellith that the phisicien of kyng pirrus cam

on a nyght to fabrice his aduersarpe/ and promysed hym
yf he wold geue hym for his lalour that he wold enuy-
sone pirrus his mayster. When fabricus vnderstood this
he dyd to take hym and bynde hym hand and foot/and
sent hym to his maistre & dyd do say to hym word for word
like as the phisicien had said and promysed hym to do / &
When pirrus vnderstood this he was gretly admeruayshid
of the loyaltie and trouthe of fabrice his enemye ' and said
certeynly that the sonne myght lightlye & sonner he en-
uysid of his couys. Whenne fabrice shold he letted to holde
loyaltie and trouthe . yf they than that were not crysten
were so iuste and trewe and louyd theyr contrey & theyr
good renomée . What shold we now doon than that been
Crysten . and that our lawe is sette al vpon loue and
charite / but now a dayes there is no thyng ellis in the
world but/larke trefe/deceit falsenes & trecherie me kepe
not their couenauntes 'promyses . othes , writynges , ne
trouthe the subgettis rebelle agayn their lord . ther is now
no lawe kepte , nor fydelyte , ne othe holden . The people
murmure and ryse agayn theyr lord and wol not be
subget , they ought to be pietous in herte / Whiche is a
uaylable to alle thyng / There is pyte in effect by com-
passyon / and in worde by remysyon and pardon / By
almesse . for to enclpne hym self vnto the poure , For
pyte is no thyng ellis but a right grette wyll of a deuo-
nary herte for to helpe alle men / Valerius rehercith that
there was a Iuge named sangis Whiche dampned a wo-
man that had deseruyd the deth for to haue her heed smy-
ten of or ellys that she shold dye in pryson .

The Jayler that had pyte on the Woman put not her anon
to deth but put her in the pryson + and this Woman had a
doughter Whiche came for to see and comforte her moder /
But alWey or she entred in to the pryson the Jayler sez :
chyd hyr that she shold here no mete ne drynke to her mo :
der . but that she shold dye for longer . than hit happend
after thys that he meruayled moche Why this Woman dy :
ed not / and began to espye the cause Why she leuyd so long
And fonde attē laste how her doughter gaf souke to her
moder . and fedde her With her mylke / When the Jaler sawe
thys merueyle / he Went and tolde the Juge / And When
the Juge sawe this grete pyte of the doughter to the mo :
der he pardoned her and made her to be deliuerd out of her
pryson / What is that / that pite ne amosiffeth / moche peple
Wene that it is agaynst nature and Wondre that the
doughter shold geue the moder to souke . hit Were agaynst
nature but the children shold be kynde to fader and moder
Seneka sayth that the kyng of bees hath no prylike to
stynge Wyth as other bees haue / And that nature hath
take hit away from hym by cause he shold haue none ar :
mes to assaile them . and this is an example vnto pryn :
ces that they shold be of the same condycion . Valerius re :
herath in his fifthe booke of Marchus martellus that
When he had taken the cyte of Syracusane / & Was sette in
the hyest place of the cyte / he behelde the grete destruccyon
of the peple and of the cyte / he Wepte & said, thou oughtest
to be sorrowful / for so moche as thou woldest haue no pyte
of thy self / But enioye the for thou art fallen in the hande
of a right delonair pryncē / also he recouerteth When pompeo

had conquerd the kynge of germanye that often tymes
had foughten ayenst the romayns / & that he Was brought
to fore hym bounden / He Was so ppetous that he Wold not
suffre hym to be longe on his knees tofore hym . but he
receyued hym curtopfully . and sette the crowne agayn on
his heed and put hym in thestate that he Was tofore .

For he had oppynyon that it Was as Worthyful and
fittynge to a kynge to pardone / as to punyssh / Also he re
hereth of a counceyllour that Was named poule that dyd
do brynge tofore hym a man that Was prysoner / And as
he knelid tofore hym he toke hym by fro the grounde and
made hym to sitte besyde hym for to geue hym good espe
raunce and hope / and sayd to the other stondynge by / in
this Wyse / yf hit be grete noblesse that we shewe our self
contrarye to our enemyes. than this fete ought to be also
Wed that we shewe our self delonayr to our captifs and
prisoners / Cesar When he hard the deeth of cathon Whiche
Was his aduersarye sayd that he had grete enuye of his
gloze . and no thyng of his patrymonye / and therfore
he lefte to his chyldren frely al his patrymonye / Thus
taught Virgyle and enseyneth the glorious prynces to
reule and gouerne the peple of rome . and saynt Austyn
de ciuitate dei sayth thus / Thou emperour gouerne the pe
ple ppetously / and make pees ouerall / deporte and forbere
thy subgettis . rezeue and correcte the proude / For so
enseyne and teche the the labbers / And hit Was Wryten
vnto alexaunder . that euery prynce ought to be ppetous
in punysshynge / and zedy for to rewarde / ther is no thyng
that causeth a prynce to be so belouyd of his peple . as When

he speketh to hem Metely .and conceruyth Wyth hem sym
ply . and al this cometh of the rote of pyte.

We rede of the emperour traian that his frendes repre
uyd hym of that he Was to moche pryue and famulier
Wyth the comyn peple more than an emperour ought to be
And he answered that he Wold be suche an emperour as
euery man despyred to haue hym, also We rede of alisauder
that on a tyme he ladde his hoost forth hastily / & in that
haste he behelde Where satte an olde knyght that Was fore
acorde, Whom he dyd do aryse and sette hym in his owne
sete or siege. What Wondre Was hit though the knyghtes
despyred to serue suche a lorde that loupd better theyr selfe
than his dignyte. The wokes ought also to be humble &
meke .after the holy scripture Whiche sayth, the gretter or
in the hyer astate that thou art / so moche more oughtest
thou be meker and more humble. Valerius reherceth in his
iiij booke that ther Was an emperour named Publius ce
sar . that dyd do sette down his hows Whiche Was in the
myddes of the market place for as moche as hit Was hy
er than othez howses / For as moche as he Was more
glorpyous in estate than othez . therfore Wold he haue a
lasse hows than othez , and sapion of affrique that Was
so poure of voluntarpe pouerte that Whan he Was dede . He
Was buryed at the dispensis and costes of the comyn
good, They hold he so humble that they hold leue theyr
offices / and suffre othez to take hem Whan her tyme co
meth . and do honour to othez. For he gouerneth Wel the
royame that may gouerne hit Whan he Wyl. Valerius reher
ceth in his iij booke that fabyan the grette had ben maystre

counceyllour of his fader his grauntfyr , And of his
grauntfirs fader and of alle his antecessours , And yet
dyd he al his myn and labour / that his sone shold neuer
haue that offyce after hym . But for no thyng that he
mystrusted his sone for he Was noble and Wyse and more
attempered than other / but he Wold that the offyce shold
not alwey reste in the famylie and hows of the fabians
Also he referreth in his seuenth booke that they Wold ma
ke the sayd fabian emperour / But he excusyd hym & sayde
that he Was blynde and myght not see for age . But
that excusacion myght not helpe hym / Than sayd he to
hem / seke ye and gete you another / For yf ye make me
your emperour / I may not suffre your maners / nor ye may
not suffre myn . There Was a kynge of so subtyl engyne
that Whan men brought hym the crowne tofore that he to
ke hit . he remembred hym a kyng and sayd . O thou crowne
that art more noble thanne happy , For yf a kyng knele
Wel and parfaytly how that thou art ful of paynles of
thought and of charge / yf thou Were on the grounde /
he Wold neuer lyfte nor take the vp / Remembre the that
Whan thou art most glorious . thanne haue some men moste
enuye on the . And Whan thou hast most seignorie and
lordshyp / than shalt thou haue most care , thought and
anguysshes , Aspasian Was so humble that Whan Nero
Was slayn alle the peple cryed for to haue hym emperour
And many of his frendes came and prayed hym that
he Wold take hit vpon hym . So at the last he Was con
streyned to take hit vpon hym . and sayd to his frendes
hit is better and more to prayse and alowe for a man to

take Hempyre agaynst hys Wyllle than for to labour . to
haue hit and to put hym self therein . Thus ought they to
be humble and meke for to receyue Worshyp . therefore saith
the byble that Joab the sone of saryne that Was captayne
of the Barre of the kyng daupd / Whan he cam to take and
Wynne a cyte . he sente to daupd and despyred hym to come
to the Warre , that the Victorpe shold be geuen to Daupd
and not to hym self . also they ought to be Ware that
they chaunge not ofte tymes her officers , Josephus re-
herith that the frendes of Tyberius meruaylled moche
Why he helde his officers so longe in theyr officers Wyth
out chaungehyng . And they demaunded of hym the cause
to Whom he answered I Wolde chaunge them gladly . yf I
Wyst that hit shold be good for the peple / But I sawe on
a tyme a man that Was wyneous and ful of sores . and
many flies satte vpon the sores and souked his blood
that hit Was meruayle to see . Wherefore I smote & chased
them away / and he than sayd to me Why chasest & smyttest
thou away these flies that been ful of my blood / & now
shalt thou see come other that he hongyre Which shal doon
to me double payne more than the other dyd . for the prick
of the hongry is more paynaunt the half . thanne of the
fulle / And therefore sayde he I leue the officers in theyr
offices . For they been al riche / and do not so moche euyl
& harme . as the newbe shold do and Were poure yf I shold
sette hem in her places . They ought also to be patient in
seryng of Wordes and in suffryng payne on her bodies . as
to the first , one sayd to alisaunder that he Was not War-
thy to reigne specially Whan he suffred that lecherpe and

despise to haue seignorie in hym / he suffred hit patiently .
And answered none other wyse but . that he wold correcte
hym self / And take better maners and more honeste, also
hit is reherced that Iulius Cesar Was callyd Wherof he
had displeasur so grete that he kempt his heere that laye
on the aftir parte of his heed forwarde for to hyde the
hare tofore . Then sayd a knyght to hym . Cesar hit is
lightlier and soner to be maad that thou be not callyd /
than that I haue vsyd ony cowardyse in the Warre of Ro
me / or here after shal doo ony cowardyse . He suffryd hit
patiently and sayd not one word . another reprochyd
hym by his signage . and called hym laker / he answered
that hit is better that noblesse begynne in me . than hit
shold faylle in me / another callyd hym tyrant / he an
swerd yf I Were one thou woldest not say so . A knyght
callyd on a tyme saypon of Affrique folle & olde knyght
in armes . And that he knewe htyl good . And he an
swerd I Was borne of my moder a htyl chyld and feble
and not a man of armes . And yet he Was at alle tymes
one of the best and most Worthiest in armes that lyuyd
Another sayd to Rasmion / & a Wolf shold sone change
his skyn and heer . than thou sholdest change thy htyl .
For the lenger thou lyuest the more thou couetest / and
he answered of thysse wordes We ought to laughe / But We
ought to amende our self / and punyshe the trespasses /
Seneke reherceth that the kyng antygonus herde certeyn
peple speke and say euyl of hym . and there Was betwene
hem nomore but a courtynne / and than he sayd make an
ende of your euyl langage lest the kyng here you . for

the courtynne feereth you wel y nough. than as touchynge
to the paynes that they ought to suffer paciently/Valerius
reheraith that a tyrant dyd to torment Anamarpmenes
and thretenyd hym for to cutte of his tounge . to Whom he
sayd hit is not in thy power to do so . and forthwith he
broke of his owne tounge , and chewid hit wyth his tethe
and caste hit in the bysage of the tyrant . hit is a grette
Vertu in a man that he forgete not to be pacient in correc-
cions of Wronges . hit is better to leue a gylty man unpun-
nysshed . than to punyssh hym in a Wrath or yre ,
Valerius reheraith that archyta of tarente that Was may-
ster to plato saide that his feldees and landes Were destroy-
ed and lost by the negligence of his seruauant , to Whom
he sayd yf I Were not angry With the I Wolde take venge-
aunce and tumente the . so there ye may see that he had
leuer to leue to punyssh , than to punyssh more by yre &
Wrath than by right . And therefore sayth seneque , do not
thynge that thou oughtest to doo Whan thou art angrye
For Whan thou art angry thou Woldest do alle thynges
after thy playseir/and yf thou canst not Raynquyssh thy
yre . than must thy yre overcome the . After thys ought
they to haue Wyllful pouerte lyke as hit Was in the aun-
cient prynces . For they coueyted more to be riche in Wytt
and good maners thenne in money And that reheraith
Valerius in his dyi look that Scypyon of affryque Was
accused vnto the senate that he shold haue grette tresour .
And he answered certes Whan I submyssed Affrique in to
your poeste . I helde no thyng to my self that I myght
say this is myn saue onely the surname of affrique . Alex

the affiaquans haue not founden in me ner in my broder
ony auarice / nez that We Were so couetouse that We had
ne had greater enuye to be riche of name than of richesses
And therefore sayth Seneque that the kynge altagone
Wyd gladly in his holles vessels of erthe / And somme
sayd he dyd hit for couetyse / but he sayd that hit Was let-
ter and more noble thyng to Wyne in good maners than
in lassyll / And Whan some men demaunded hym Why &
for What cause he dyd so / he answered I am now kynge of
Secyllle . and Was sone of a potters / and for as moche as
I doubt fortune / for Whan I yssued out of the holles of my
fader and moder . I Was sodaynly maad riche / Wherefore I
beholde the natyure of me and of my signage / Whiche is
humble and meke . and al these thynges cometh of Wyll-
ful puerite / For he entended more to the comyn proffyt
than to his owen . And of this puerite speketh Saynt
Augustyn in the booke of the cyte of god that they that
entende to the comyn proffyt . sorowe more that Wyllful
puerite is lost in rome . than the richesses of rome / for by
the Wyllful puerite Was the renomee of good maners
kepte entierly / thus by this richesse puerite is not onely
corrupt in these dayes ner the cyte ner the maners / But
also the thoughtes of the men ben corrupt by this couetyse
and by felonye that is Worse than any othez enemye / and
of the crueltye of the peple of rome speketh the good man
of noble memorye John the monke late cardynal of rome
in the decretal the sixte in the chappytze gens sca Where he
sayth / that they ben felons ayens god / contrarie to holy
thynges / trayters one to that other . Enuyous . to her

neighbour. proud Into strangers. rebell and Intrewe
Into their souerayns. not suffryng to them that been of
lower degree than they & no thyng shamefast to demaunde
thynges discouenable and not to leue tyl they haue that
they demaunde, and not plesyd but disagreeable. When they
haue receyued the peste. they haue their tongues redy for
to make grete boost. and do hityl. they ben large in promp
syng and smale gyuers. they ben right fals deapours.
and right mordent and bytyng detractours. For Whiche
thing hit is a grete sorowe to see the humylyte the pacy
ence. and the good wysdom that was wont to be in this
cite of rome Whiche is cheef of al the world & is peruer
ted and turned in to malekynte & thysse euylles. And me
thynketh that in other parties of cristente they haue taken
ensaumple of them to do euyl. They may say that this is
after the decretale of seynnorpe and dysobeyssaunce. that
sayth. that suche thynges that the souerayns do. is lightly
and sone taken in ensaumple of. their subiettis. also thysse
Bycayres shold be large and liberall. in so moche that suche
puple as serue them ben duly payd and querdoned of her la
bour. For euery man doth his labour the better & light
lyer When he seeth that he shal be wel payd and rewarded.
And we rede that titus the sone of Vaspasian was so large
and so liberal. that he gaf & promysed sumwhat to euery
man. and When his most pruy frendes demaunded of
hym Why he promysed more thenne he myght gyue. He
answerd for as moche as it aperteyneth not to a prync
that ony man shold departe sorowful or tryste fro hym.
Than hit hapend on a day that he gaf ner promysed no

thyng to any man / and? When it Was euen and? aduysed?
hym self he sayd? to his frendes . O ye my frendes this
day haue I lost for this day haue I don no good . and also
We rede of Julius cesar that he neuer sayd in alle his lyf
to his knyghtes goo on . but alwey he sayd come come .
For I loue alwey to be in your companye / And he knewe
Wel that it Was laste payne and? trouaylle to the knygh-
tes When the prynce is in . her companye that loueth hem &
comforteth hem . and also We rede of the same Julius cesar
in the booke of troupes . of philosophers / that there Was an
auncient knyght of his that Was in puelle of a caas
hangyng tofore the Iuges of wme so he callyd? cesar on
a tyme and? sayd? to hym tofore al men that he shold be
his aduocate . And cesar despyeryd? and assygned to hym
a right good aduocate . and the knyght sayd to hym / O
cesar I put no dyspayr in my place When thou Were in pa-
ryl in the batayl of assise / but I faught for the . & than
he shewyd to hym the places of his woundes that he had?
receyued in the bataylle . and than cam cesar in his propre
persone for to be his aduocate and? to plete his cause for
hym . he Wold not haue the name of Backynderes . But
doubted that men shold say that he Were proude . and that
he Wold not do for them that had? seruyd hym / they that
can not do so moche as for to be belouyd of her knyghtes .
can not loue the knyghtes . & this suffiseth of the tokes

The iiij tractate of the offices of the comyn peple the first
chapitre is of the offyce of the labourers & Werkmen as j



Or so moche as noble perzones can not reble ne go
fuerne Without the seruyse and Werke of the people
Than hit behoueth to deuyse the outrages and the offy-
ces of the Werkmen. than I shal begynne first at the first
pysch that is in the playe of the chesse. & signifieth a man
of the comyn peple on fote. for they be al named pichons
that is as moche to say as footmen, And thenne We
shyl begynne at the pichon whiche standeth tofore the roke
on the right syde of the kynge. For as moche as this
pichon apperteyneth to serue the knyght or cheuenant
of the kynge and othere officers / Under hym of necessaries

of Bytaye / and this maner of peple is figured: & ought
he maad in the forme and shape of a man holdyng in his
right hande a spade or shouel . and a wodde in the lyft hand
the spade or shouel is for to delue and labour therwytth the
erthe . and the wodde is for to dryue and conduyte wytth al
the bestys vnto her pasture / also he ought to haue on his
gyrdel a sarpe or crosyd hacket for to cutte of the superflu:
ytes of the Bygnes and trees / And We rede in the bible
that the first labourer that euer Was. Was caym the first
sone of ada that Was so euyl that he slede his broder abel
For as moche as the smoke of his tithes Went strapt vn
to heuen , and the smoke and fume of the tithes of caym
Went down Ward vpon the erthe . and hold wel that thys
cause Was trewe . yet Was there another cause of enuye
that he had vnto his broder , For When Adam theyr fader
marped them for to multelype the erthe of his signe / he
Wold not marpe ner Joyne to gyder the wo that Were
borne attones . but gaf vnto caym her that Was borne witt
abel . and to abel her that Was borne wytth caym . & thus
he gan thenuye that caym had openst abel / For hys wyf
Was fayrer than cayms wyf / and for this cause he slede
abel wytth the chekelone of a beste / And at that tyme
Was neuer no maner of yron bloody of mannes blood .
And Abel Was the fyrst martir in the olde testament .
and thys sayd caym dyd many othe euyl thynges Whiche
I leue, for it apperteyneth not to my mater . but it beloueth
for necessyte that some shold labour the erthe , after the
synne of adam / for tofore or adam synned / therthe brought
forth fruyt Without labour of handes but sith he synned

hit must nedes be laboured With the handes of men / & for
as moche as the erthe is moder of al thynges / and that
We Were first formed / & took our begynnyng of the erthe /
the same Wyse at the last / shal be the ende vnto al vs
& to al thynges . & god that formed vs of the erthe . hath
ordayned that by the labour of men shal shold geue nouryshe
shyng vnto al that lyueth / & first the labourer of the earth
ought to knowe his god that formed & made heuen & erthe
of nought / and ought to haue loyalte & trowth in hym self
and despise deeth for to entende to his labour / and he ought
to geue thankynges to hym that made hym & of Whom he
receyueth al his goodes temporal / Wherof his lyf is sustey
ned . and also he is bounden to paye the dymmes & tythes of
al his thynges . and not as cain dyd . but as abel dyd
of the beste that he chese out alwey for to geue to god and
to plesse hym / for they that grutch and be greued in that
they rendre & geue to god the tithes of her goodes / they
ought to be aserd and haue drede that they shal falle in
necessyte / And that they myght be despoyled or robberyd
by Warre or by tempest that myght falle or happen in the
contray / And hit is no merueyle though hit so happen /
For that man that is disagreeable vnto god / and Beneth
that the multiplyeng of his goodes temporal cometh by
the vertu of his owne counceyl and his Witte / the Whiche
is made by the only ordinaunce of hym that made al / and
by the same ordinaunce is sone taken away fro hym that is
disagreeable . & hit is reson that Whan a man labouryth
by fortune in goodes . & knowith not god by Whō it cometh .
that to hym come some other fortune by the Whiche he may

requyre grace and pardon & to knowe his god & We rede of
 the kyng dauid that Was first simple & one of the comyn
 peple that When fortune had enhaunced & sette him in grete
 estate . he left & forgate his god / & fyl to aduoulturie & ho-
 myade & other synnes than anone his owne sone absalon
 assailid & began to persecute hym, & than When he sawe that
 fortune Was contrarie to hym, he began to take ageyn his
 Vertuous Werkis and requyred pardon & so returned to god
 agayn . We rede also of the children of ysmel that Were
 nygh enfamysed in desert & soze hungry & thursty that they
 prayed & requyred of god for remedye . anone he chaunged
 his Wille & sent to hem mana & flessch . & When they Were
 replenysshed & fatte of the flessch of kistes & of the manna
 they made a calf of gold & Worshipped hit . Whiche Was a
 grete synne & iniquyte . for When they Were hongry they
 knewe god . & When theyr kistes Were filled & fattened . they
 forgid ydolles & Were ydolatreres . after this euery labou-
 rer ought to be faithful and trewe, that When his maister
 deliuereth to hym his lande to be laboured, that he take no
 thyng to hym self but that he ought to haue & is his . but
 laboure truly and take cure & charge in the name of hys
 maystre , and do moze diligently hys maysters labours
 than his owen , for the tyf of the most grete & noble men
 next god lieth in the handes of the labourers, and thus al
 craftes and occupacions ben ordeyned not only to suffice to
 the only . but to y comyn . & so it happeth oft tyme that the
 labourer of the erth Wseth grete & hoistrous metis / & bryn-
 geth to his maister moze subtile & moze deyntous metes .
 And Valerius rehercith in his sixt booke that ther Was a

Wyse and noble maistze that Was named anthonius that
Was accusid of a coas of auoultry. & as the cause senge
tofore the Iuges / his acusers or denonciatours brought
a labourer that closid his lande for so moche as they sayd
Whan his mayster Went to do the aduoultrye / this same
seruaunt bare the lanterne / Wherof Anthonius Was sore
abassid . & doutid that he shold depose agaynst hym / But
the labourer that Was named papirion said to his maister
that he shold denye his cause hardily vnto the Iuges / for
to be tormentid / his cause shold neuer be enpreyed by hym
ner no thyng shold yssue out of his mouth Wherof he shold
be noyed or greuyd / & than Was the labourer liden & tor-
mentid & brent in many places of his body . but he sayd ne-
uer thyng Wherof his maister Was hurt or noyed / but the
other that accused his maister Were punysshed / & papirion
Was deliuerd of his paynes . & also telleth Valerius that
there Was another labourer that Was named penapion /
that seruyd a maister Whos name Was themes Which Was
of meruailous faith to his maister . for hit befel that cer-
teyn knyghtes cam to his maisters howse for to sle hym / &
anone as penapion knele hit . he Went in to his maisters
chambre / & Wold not be knowen / for he did on his maysters
goBne & his ryng on his finge . & lay in his bedde / and
thus put hym self in puelle of deth for to respyte hys
maysters lyf . But We see now a dayes many folks that
daigne not to vse grosse metis of labourers . and flee the
cours clothynge and maners of a seruaunt / Euery Wyse
man a seruaunt that trewly seruyth his maister is free
and not bonde . but a fool that is ouer proud is bonde .

For the debylite and feblenes of corage that is broken in
 consaience by pryde. Enuie. or by couetyse is right seruy-
 tude yet they ought not to doute to labour. for fere and
 drede of deth no man ought to loue to moche his lyf/ For
 hit is a foul thyng for a man to renne to the deth for the
 enuie of his lyf / and a Wyse man and a stronge man
 ought not to fle for his lyf. but to yssue. for there is no
 man that lyueth. but he must nedes dye/ & of this speketh
 claudyan and saith that al tho thynges that the ayer goth
 about & enuyronneth & alle thyng that the erthe laboureth
 Al thynges that ben conteyned Within the see, al thynges
 that the flodes brynge forth / alle thynges that ben noris-
 shed. & al the bestes that ben Vnder the heuen shal deperte
 alle from the World. and al shal goo at his comaundement
 as Wel kynges prynces and al that the World enuyron-
 neth and goeth about. alle shal goo this Way / Than he
 ought not to doute for fere of deth. for as Wel shal dye
 the ryche as the pore. deth maketh alle thynges lyke and
 putteth al to an ende. and therof made a noble Versesper
 Two Versis Whiche folowe/ *Forma genus mores, sapiencia
 res et honores. Morte uant subita sola manent merita.*
 Wherof the englyssh is / beaute, signage maners. Wyse-
 dom. thynges and honoures / shal ben defetid by sodeyn deth +
 no thyng shal abyde but the meritis. & herof fynde We in
Vitas patrum that ther Was an erle a riche & noble man
 that had a sone onely / And Whan thys sone Was of age
 to haue knowleche of the lawe. he herde in a fermone that
 deth spareth none / & as Wel dyeth the yonge as the olde.

And that the deeth ought specially to be doubted for the
causes / one was that no man knoweth when he cometh /
and the second ner in what state he taketh a man . And
the thyrde he wote neuer whether he shal goo / therefore ech
man shold dyspyse and flee the world and hye wel and
holde hym toward god . and when this yonge man herde
this thyng / he wente out of his contray and fledde into
a wyldernesse into an hermytage . and when his fader had
lost hym he made grete sorowe and dyd do enquer & seke
hym so moche that atte last he was founden in the hermy-
tage / And thenne his fader cam thider to hym and sayd .
Dere sone come from thens / thou shalt be after my deathe
erle and chyef of my signage , I shal be lost yf thou come
not out from thens , & he than that wysst none other wyse
to eschewe the yre of his fader thought hym and sayd /
Dere fader there is in your contre and lande a right euyl
custume yf hit please you to put that abbey I shal gladly
come out of this place and goo with you . The fader was
glad and had grete joye / and demaunded of hym what hit
was . and yf he wolde telle hym he promysed hym to take
hit abbey and hit shold be left and sette a parte / Than he
sayd dere fader there dyen as wel the yonge folke as the
olde in your contray . do that abbey I praye you / when his
fader herde that . he sayd dere sone that may not be ner no
man may put that abbey but god onely / than answered
the sone to the fader . than wyl I serue hym and dwelle
here wyth hym that may do that / And so alode the childe
in the hermytage and lyued there in good werkis . after
this hit apperteyneth to a labourer to entere to his labour

and flee ydelnes / and thou oughtest to knowe that dauid
preyeth moche in the psalter the trewe labourers & sayth
thou shalt ete the labour of thy handes and thou art
blessyd / and he shal doo to the good. And hit sheweth
that the labourer endende to his labour on the Werkedayer
for to reape and gadre to gydre the fruyt of his labour
and also he ought to reste on the holy day. sothe he & his
kystys / and a good labourer ought to norisse and kepe
his kystys. And this is signyfyed by the rode that he
hath / Whiche is for to lede and dryue them to the pasture.
The first pastour that euer was was Abel. Whiche was
juste and trewe / and offred to god the bestis unto his
sacrefise / and hym ought he to folowe in craft and maners
but no man that steth the malice of wyrm maye ensue &
folowe Abel / and thus hit aperteyneth to the labourer to
sette and graffe trees and bygnes. and also to plante &
cutte them / and so dyd Noe. Whiche was the first that
planted the vygne after the deluge and flood. For as
Josephus reherceth in the booke of naturall thynges / Noe
was he that fonde first the bygne. and he fonde hym byt
ter and wyld / and therefore he took four maners of blood
that is to wete the blood of a lyon / the blood of a lamb
the blood of a wyne. and the blood of an ape & medlid
them al to geder wyth the erthe. And than he cutte the
bygne and put this about the rotes therof / to thende that
the bytternes shold he put away / & that hit shold he wete
And when he had drunken of the fruyt of this vygne.
hit was so good & myghty that he became so dronke that
he despoiled hym in such wyse that his pryncypal membres

myght be seen / and his yongest sone chary mocked and
skorned hym + and Whan noe Was awaked and Was sobre
and fastyng, he assembled his sones and shewed to them
the nature of the Bygne and of the Wyn + & tolde to them
the cause Why that he had put the blood of the bestes about
the rote of the Bygne and that they shold knowe Wel that
otherwhile by the strengthe of the Wyn men he maad as
hardy as the Lyon and prous + and otherwhile they he made
symple and shamefast as a lambe / & lecherous as a Wyne
and curous and ful of play as an ape / for the ape is of
suche nature that Whan he seeth one doo a thyng he enfor:
ceth hym to do the same / and so don many Whan they been
dronke, they wyl meddle them With al offycers and ma:
ters that apperteyne no thyng to them / and Whan they been
fastyng & sobre they can scarcely accompysshe theyr owne
thynges, and therefore Valerian reherceth that of auncient
and in olde tyme Women dranke no Wyn for as moche as
by dronkenhpy they myght falle in ony filthe or bylony
and as ouyde saith, that the Wynes otherwhile appamylle
the corages in suche manere that they been couenable to al
synnes Whiche take alwey the bestes to do Wel they make
the poure, nycht as longe as the Wyn is in his heed / and
shortly dronkenhpy is the begynnyng of alle euylles. &
corrupteth the body, and destroyeth the soule & mynyssheth
the goodes temporals / & this suffiseth for the labourers'

The second chapytre of the thyrd tractate treteth of
the forme and maner of the second pabne and of the
maner of a smyth capitulo secundo



The second pabn that stondeth tofore the knyght on
the right syde of the kyng hath the forme & fygure
of a man as a smyth and that is reson for hit apertey-
neth to the knyghtes to haue bridleys sadellis spores and
many other thynges maad by the handes of smythes and
ought to holde an hamer in his right hond and in his left
hande a squer. and he ought to haue on his gyrdel a tw
bel / For by this is signefyed alle maner of Werkmen.
as goldsmythes. marchallis. Smythes of alle forges/

forgers and makers of money and al maner of symthes
ben signefped by the martzel or hamer . The carpenters
ben signefped by the dolabre or squere / and by the twel
We vnderstonde al masons and keruers of stones . tylers
and al those that make howses castels and towres / And
vnto al thysse crafty men / hit aperteyneth that they be tre
we . Wyse and stronge / And hit is nede that they haue in
hem self fayth and loyaulte / For vnto the goldsymthes
behoueth golde and syluer and alle other metallys . yren
and steel to other . and vnto the carpentiers and ma
sons ben put to theyr edespoes the bodys and goodes of
the peple / and also men put in the handes of the mawners
body and goodes of the peple . and in the garde and selberte
of them men put body and soule in the pillers of the see
And therfore ought they to be trewe vnto whom men com
mytte suche grette charge and so grette thynges vpon her
fayth and truste . and therfore sayth the phylosopher . He
that leseth his fayth and beleue , may lose no gretter ne
more thyng / and fayth is a souerayn good and cometh
of the good wyll of the herte and of his mynde . and for
no necessity wyll deceyue no man . and is not corrupt for
no mede . Valerius referaith that fabius had receyued of
hanybal certeyn prysoners that he helde of the romayns
for a certeyn some of money whiche he promysed to paye
to the sayd hanybal . and whan he cam vnto the senatours
of rome and despyred to haue the money lent for hem .
they answered that they wold not paye nor lene / and than
ffabius sent his sone to rome and made hym to selle his
heritage and patrymonye . and sent the money that he

reapuyd therof vnto hapytall . and had leuer and loupd
better to be pouze in his contrey of heritage / than of beleue
and fayth / But in thysse dayes it were grete folye to haue
suche assaunce in moche peple but yf they had ben pruyd
afore / for oftentymes men truste in them by Whom they
ben deapuyd at theyr nede / and it is to bete that these
crafty men and Werkmen ben soueraynly proffyttable vnto
the World / and Wythout artificers and Werkmen the World
myght not be gouerned / and knowe thou verry that alle
the thynges that ben engendrid on the erthe and on the
see . ben maad and formed for to do proffyt vnto the sig
nage of man . For man was formed for to haue gene
ration / that the men myght helpe and proffyt eche other /
And here in ought we to folowe nature / For she sheweth
to vs that we shold do comyn proffyt one to another . and
the first fondement of Justyce is that no man shold noye
ne greue other . but that they ought do the comen proffyt
For men say in reproche . that I see of thyn . I hope it shal
be myn / but Who is he in thysse dayes that entendeth more
to the comyn proffyt than to his owne / certeynly none but
alwey a man ought to haue drede and fere of his owne
holde / When he seeth his neyghbours holde a fyre . And
therefore ought men gladly helpe the comyn prouffyt / for
men otherwhyle sette not by a tytel fyre & myght quench
hit in the begynnynge / that afterward maketh a grete bla
spynge fire & fortune hath of no thyng so grete plesure as
for to torne & werke alwey / & nature is so noble a thyng
that Where as she is she wyl susteyne and kepe . but thys
rebel of nature hath faylled longe tyme . How wel that

the decree saith that alle the thynges that been ayenst the
lawe of nature ought to be taken away and put a parte /
And he sayth tofore in the viij distinction that the ryght
lawe of nature differenceth ofte tymes fro custom & statu-
tes establisshyd / For by lawe of nature al thyng ought
to be comyn to euery man / and this lawe was of olde ty-
me . and men were yet specially that the twians kept this
lawe . and we rede that the multitude of the twians was
one herte & one soule . and verily we fynde that in tyme
passid the philosophres did the same . And also it is to be
supposid that such as haue theyr goodes comune and not
propre is most acceptable to god . ffor ellis wold not these
religious men as monkes freres chonons obseruautes
and al othez auowe hem and kepe the wyllful pouerte that
they ben professyd to . For in trouth I haue my self ben
conuersaunt in a religious howse of whyt freres at gaunt
whiche haue al thyng in comyn among them . and not
one richer than another in so muche that yf a man gaf to
a frere iij d or iij d to praye for hym in his masse / as
sone as the masse is don he deliuereth hit to his ouerest
or procuratour in whiche howses ben many vertuous and de-
uout freres / and yf that they were not the best & the most
holpest . holy chirche wold neuer suffre hit in religion /
And accordyng thereto we rede in plato whiche sayth that
the cite is wel and justly gouerned and ordeyned in the
whiche no man may say by right, by custome ne by ordenaũ-
ce . this is myn . But I say to the certeynly that sythen
this custome came forth to say this is myn . and this is
thyne . no man thought to preferre the comyn prouffyt so

moche as his owne . and al Werkmen ought to be Wyse &
Wel aduysed so that they haue none enuye ne none euyl
suspicion one to another / For god Wyl that our humayn
nature be couetous of two thynges / that is of religion &
of Wysedom , but in this case ben some often tymes deuy /
ued , For they take often tymes religion & leue Wysedom
& they take Wysedom & refuse religion / And none may be
kery and trewe Wyth out other . for it apperteyneth not
to a Wyse man to do any thyng that he may repente hym
of hit / and he ought to do no thyng ayenst his Wyll .
But to do al thyng nobly . meurely . firmly & honestly / &
yf he haue enuye vpon any , hit is folye / for he on Whom he
hath enuye is more honest and of more fauour than he
Whiche is so enuyous . For a man may haue none enuye
on another . but by cause he is more fortunat & hath more
grace than hym self / for enuye is a sorowe of courage that
cometh of this ordenaunce of the prouffyt of another man
and knowe thou verily that he that is ful of bounte shal
neuer haue enuye of another . but thenuyous man seeth
and thynketh alwey that euery man is more noble . and
more fortunat than hym self / and saith alwey to hym self
that man Wynneth more than I / and myn neyghbours
haue more plente of bestes / and her thynges multyple
more than myn , and therefore thou oughtest knowe that
enuye is the most grettest dedely synne that is / For he
tormenteth hym that hath her Withyn hym , Wythout tor /
mentyngh or doyng any harme to hym . on Whom he hath
enuye / And an enuyous man hath no vertu in hym self
For he corrupeth hym self for as moche as he hateth

alWay the Welthe and Vertues of other/And thus ought
they to kepe them that they take none euyl suspencion . for
a man naturelly Whan his affeccion hath suspencion in ony
man that he Weneth that he doth . hit semeth to hym Very
ly that it is don. And it is an euyl thyng for a man to
haue suspencion on hym self / For We rede that dyonyse of
zeccyle a tyrunt . Was so suspencion that he had so grette
fere and drede . for as moche as he Was hated of alle men/
that he put his frendes out theyr offyces that they had
and put other straungers in their places for to kepe his
body, and chese suche as Were right cruel and felons/ and
for fere & doubte of the barhours . he made his daughters
to lerne shawe and rembe , and Whan they Were grette , he
Wold not they shold vse ony wyse to be occupped by them
but to brenne and senge his heris /and menaced them
and durst not truste in them . And in like wyse they had
none affyaunce in hym . and also he did to enuyronne the
place Where he lay Wyth grette dyches and brode dyke a cas-
tel . and he entred by a drawe brudge Whiche closid after
hym . and his knyghtes laye Wythout Wyth his gardes
Whiche Watched and kept stryptly thys forteresse , & Whan
plato sawe thys said dionyse kynge of zealle thus enuy-
roned and sette about Wyth gardes and Watchemen for the
cause of his suspencion /sayd to hym openly tofore alle
men kynge Why hast thou don so moche euyl and harme ,
that the behoueth to be kept Wyth so moche peple : & therefore
I say that it aperteyneth not to ony man that Wyll tru-
ly behaue hym self in his Werkes to be suspencion : & also
they ought to be stronge and seure in there Werks /and

ſpecially they that ben maſters and mariners on the ſee, for yf they be numerous and ferduſul they ſhould make aſerde them that ben in theyr ſhipps / that knowe not the perilles . and ſo hit myght happen that by that drede and feare al men ſhould leue theyr labour / and ſo they myght be perilled and diſperdyd in theyr courages . For a ſhippe is ſoon perilled and loſt by a ſhull tempeſt / When the gouernour ſayleth to gouerne his ſhippe for drede , and can geue no counceyl to othez / thenne it is no mezuaylle . though they be aſerde that ben in his gouernaunce . And therfore ought to be in them ſtrength . force and courage and ought to conſidere the perils that myght falle . and the gouernour ſpecially ought not to doubt / and yf hit happen that ony perill falle / he ought to promyſe to the othez good ſhoop . and hit aperteyneth wel / that a man of good and hardy courage be ſette in that office . in ſuche wyſe that he haue ferme and ſeure mynde ayenſt the perilles that oft tymes happen in the ſee . and wyth this ought the mariners haue good and ferme creaunce and beleue in god . and to be of good recomforte and of fayr langage vnto them that he gouerneth in ſuche perillys / And this ſuffyleth to you as touchyng the labourers .

The thyrd chappitre of the thyrd booke treateth of the office
of notaries aduocates skryuenars and drapers or cloth
makers capitulo tercio



The thirde palye Whiche is sette before the alphyne on
the right syde ought to be figured as a clerke/ and
hit is reson that he shold so be / for as moche as emonge
the comune peple of Whom We speke in this booke they plete
the differences contencions and causes other Whyle the
Whiche behoueth the alphyne to geue sentence and Juge
as Juges / and hit is reson that the alphyne or Juge haue
his notarye / by Whom the proesse may be Writen . And
this palye ought to be maad and figured in this manere

He must be made like a man that holdeth in his right
 hand a payr of shenis / or forættis / and in the lyfte hand
 a grete knyfe and on his gurdell a pennez an ynk horn .
 and on his eere a penne to Wryte With 'and that been the
 Instrumentis and the offyces that been maad and putte
 in Wrytyng autentique . and ought to haue passyde tofore
 the Judges as skelles Writs condempnacions & sentences
 and that is signefied by the scripture and the penne / and
 on that other parte hit aperteyneth to them to cutte clothe
 shere . dyght and dye . and that is signefied by the for :
 ættis or shenis . and the other ought to shauē berdys and
 kembe the heedis . and the other ben coupeys + corpeys 'ta :
 Wyers / skynners louchers / and kordbaners + and these
 ben signefied by the knyfe that he holdeth in his hand . &
 some of thysse forsayd crafty men been named drapers or
 clothmakers for so moche as they werke With Wolle . and
 the notaries skynners Corpouers and cordbaners werke
 by skynnes and hydes . as perchymyn belume / peltre and
 cordeban . and the tayllours cutters of cloth / weaues +
 fullars / dyers . and many other craftes occuppe and vse
 Wulle . and al thysse crafty men & many other that I haue
 not named ought to do theyr craft and mestier . Where as
 they ben duly ordeynyd curiously and trewly / Also there
 ought to be amonge thysse crafty men ampyable compaignie
 and trewe honest countenaunce / And trowthe in theyr
 wordes / And hit is to bete that the notaries ben ryght
 prouffyttable and ought to be good and trewe for the co :
 myn . And they ought to kepe them from appropryng to
 them self that thyng that aperteyneth to the comyn .

And yf they be good to them self, they ben good to other
and yf they be euyl for them self, they ben euyl for other
And the proccesses that ben maad tofore the Iuges ought
to ben Writon and passyd by them. And it is to Wete that
by their Writynge in the proccesses may come moche prouffit
And also yf they Wryte othe[r]wysse than they ought to doo
may ensewbe moche harme and domage to the comyn /
Therefore ought they to take good hede that they chaunge
not ne coru[m]pe in no wysse the content of the sentence, for
than ben they first forborne, and ben bounden to make a-
mendis to them that by their trecherie they haue endoma-
ged / and also ought they to rede Visite & to knowe the sta-
tutes / ordenaunces & the lawes of the citees of the contrie
Where they dwelle and enhabite. and they ought to consi-
dere yf there be ony thyng therein conteyned ayenst right &
reson. and yf they fynde ony thyng contrarie. they ought
to admoneste & warne them that gouerne. that suche thyng-
es may be chaunged in to better estate, for custume esta-
blished ayenst good maners and agaynst the fayth.
ought not to be holden by ryght. For as hit is sayd in the
decree in the chappytze tofore / all ordenaunce maad ayenst
right ought to be holden for nought / Alas Who is now
that aduocate or notarye that hath charge to Wryte and
kepe sentence that putteth his entente to kepe more the co-
myn prouffyt or as moche as his owen. but alle drede of
god is put aback. And they deceyue the symple men /
& drawen them to the courtes disordenatly & constrayne
them to Were and make othes not couenable / and in as-
semblynge the peple thus to gyder they make no traysons

in the cyties thence they make good alpaunces .
And other While they deceyue theyr souerayns . When they
may do hit couertly / For there is no thyng at this day
that so moche greueth wome and Italie as doth the college
of notaries and aduocates publique / for they be not of
one accorde . Alas and in Engeland What hurte doon the
aduocates men of lawe and attorneyes of court to the co-
myn peple of the royaume as wel in the spiritual lawe as
in the temporelle . howe torne they the lawe and statutes
at their plesure / howe ete they the peple / howe empouere they
the comynthe / I suppose that in alle cristendom are not so
many pletars attorneyes and men of the lawe as been in
england onely . for yf they were nombred alle that longe
to the courtes of the chawncerye + kynges bench + comyn
place + cheker / restyng / and helle / and the lagge leuys of
the same hit shold amounte to a grete multitude . And
howe al thysse lyue and of Whom / yf hit shold be vntid and
tolde / hit shold not be beleuyd for they entende to theyr syn-
guler wele and prouffyt and not to the comyn / howe wel
they ought to be of good wyll to gyder . And admoneste &
warne the cyties eche in his right in suche wyse that they
myght haue pees and loue one wyth another + & Tullyus
saith that frendshyp and good wyll that one ought to
haue ayenst another for the wele of hym that he loueth .
Wyth the semblable wyll of hym ought to be put forth
tofore al other thynges . & ther is no thyng so reserbleng
and lyke to the bees that maken honey so couenable in
prosperite and in aduersite as is loue . For by loue
gladly the bees holden them to gyder . f in

and yf ony trespae to that other anone they renne vpon
the malefactor for to punyshe hym . and verry trewe loue
fayleth neuer for wele ne for euyl , and the most swete &
the most comfortyng thyng is for to haue a friend to whō
a man may say his secret as wel as to hym self , but ver-
ry amptye and frendshyp is sometyme founded vpon
some thyng delectable . and this amptye cometh of yongthe
in the which dwelleth a disordynate hete / & other while am-
tye is founded vpon honeste / and this amptye is vertuous /
of the which tullius saith that there is an amptye vertu-
ous by the which a man ought to do to his frende al that
he requyeth by reason , for to do to hym a thyng disho-
nest it is agens the nature of verry frendshyp & amptye
And thus for frendshyp ne for fauour a man ought
not to do ony thyng vnreasonable agens the comyn
prouffyt ner agens his fayth ne agens his othe ' For
yf alle tho thynges that the frendes desyre and requyre
were accomplisshed and don / byt shold seme that they
shold be dyshoneste coniurations ' And they myght o-
ther while more greue and hurte than proffyte and ayde
And herof sayth Seneque that Amptye is of suche wyll
as the frende wyll . And to refuse that ought to be re-
fused by reason . And yet he saith more that a man ought
to alowe & prays his friend tofore the peple / & to correcte &
to chastyse hym pryncely / for the lawe of amptye is suche .
for a man ought not to demaunde ner do to be don to his
frende no vylayns thyng that ought to be kept secreete
And Valerian sayth that it is a foulee thyng and an
euyl excusacion . yf a man confesse that he hath don ony

euyl for his frende ayenst right and reason / And sayth
 that there Was a good man named cassyle Whiche herde
 one his frende requyre of hym a thyng dishoneste Whiche
 he denyed & Wold not do / & than his frende said to hym in
 grete despyte / What nede haue I of thy frendshipp & amptee
 When thou Wilt not do that thyng that I requyre of the .
 & cassyle answered to hym . What nede haue I of the frendshipp
 & of the amptee of the . yf I shold do for the thyng dishonest
 and thus loue is founded otherwhyle . Upon good prouff
 table / & this loue endureth as longe as he seeth his prouff
 fyt . and few men say a comyn prouerbe in england / that
 loue lasteth as longe as the money endureth / & When the
 money faileth than there is no loue / & Barro reheraith in
 his somes, that the riche men ben al loupd by this loue . for
 their frendes ben like as the huske Whiche is about the
 gryn . and no man may proue his frende so Wel as in ad
 uersite, or When he is poure . for the many trewe frende say
 leth at no nede / & seneque saith that some folowe the emper
 our for riches, & so don the flies the honey for the wetenes
 & the Woff the carayn . And these compaigne folowe the
 praye / and not the man . And Cullyus sayth that tar
 quyn the proud had a newe of his suster Whiche Was
 named brutus and this newe had banysshed tarquin
 out of rome and had sent hym in exyle . And than sayd
 he fyrst that he perceyued and knewe his frendes Whiche
 Were trewe and vntrewe . & that he neuer perceyued afore
 tyme When he Was puppsaunt for to do theyr Wyll, & sayd
 Wel that the loue that they had to hym / endured not but
 as longe as hit Was to them proufftable .

and therefore ought al the rich men of the World take heed
ke they kynges prynces or dukes to What peple they doo
prouffyt and how they may and ought ke lounde of theyr
peple . For cathon sayth in his booke / see to Whom thou
geuest. & this loue Whiche is founded vpon theyr prouffit
Whiche fayleth and endureth not , may better ke callid and
sayd marchaundyse than loue / for yf We repute this loue
to our prouffyt onely . & no thyng to the prouffyt of hym
that We loue , it is more marchaundyse than loue / for he
byeth our loue for the prouffyt that he doth to vs / And
therefore sayth the bersefier thise wo berse . *Tempore fe-
lia multa numerantur amia / Cum fortuna perit nullus
amicus est* . Whiche is to say in englissh that as longe
as a man is euous and fortunat he hath many frendes
but Whan fortune turneth and perisseth there abydeeth not
to hym one frende . and of this loue ben loued the medo-
wes / feldes / trees & the bestes for the prouffyt that men
take of them / but the loue of the men ought to ke charite
very gracious and pure by good fayth / And the very
true frendes ben knowen in pure aduersite. And pierce
alphons sayth in his booke of Morallite that there was a
philosophre in Arabye that had an onely sone / of Whom
he demaunded What frendes he had gotten hym in his lyf
And he answered that he had many / and his fader sayd to
hym . I am an olde man and yet coude I neuer fynde but
one frende in al my lyf , and I trawe verely that it is no
tytyl thyng for to haue a frende , and hit is wel greater &
more a man to haue many / and hit apperteyneth and beho-
ueth a man to assaye and proue his frende or he haue nede

and thenne comaunded the philosopher his sone that he
shold goo and slee a Wyne / and put hit in a sacke / and
sayne that it Were a man dede that he had slayn and keze
hit to his frendes for to burye hit secretly / And Whan the
sone had don as his fader comaunded hym and had requy-
red his frendes one after another as afore is sayd /
they denyed hym and answered to hym that he Was a by-
layne to requyre and desyre of them thyng that Was so pe-
rilous . And than he came agayn to his fader and sayd
to hym how he had requyred al his frendes . And that he
had not founden one that wold helpe hym in his nede /
And than his fader sayd to hym that he shold goo and
requyre his frende Whych he had but one + and requyre hym
that he shold helpe hym in his nede . and Whan he had re-
quyred hym / Anone he put out al his mayne out of hys
holles . and Whan they Were out of the Waye or a strete + he
dyd do make secretly a pytte in the grounde / and Whan hit
Was redy and wold haue buryed the body / he founde hit
an hogge or a Wyne and not a man / and thus this sone
preuyd this man to be a very trewe frende of his fader
And preuyd that his frendes Were fals frendes of fortu-
ne / And yet rehereth the sayd pierce Alphons + that there
Were two marchauntes one of landach and that other of
Egypt Whiche Were so ioyned to geder by so grete frend-
shipp that he of landache cam on a tyme for to se his frende
in Egypt of Whom he Was receyuyd right honuourably /
And this marchant of Egypt had in his holles a fayre
yonge mayden Whom he shold haue had in mariage to
hym self / Of the Whiche mayde this marchant of

landach Was esprised? With her loue so ardently that he
Was right seek / and that men supposid hym to dye . And
than the other dyd do come the phisiciens Whiche sayd that
in hym Was no sickenes sauf passyon of loue / Thenne he
ayyd of the seek man yf there Were ony Woman in hys
holdes that he loued and maad al the Women of his holdes
to come tofore hym , And than he ches her that hold
haue sen that others Wyf and sayd? that he Was seek for
her . Than his frende sayd to hym . frende comforte your
self / for trewly I gyue her to you to Wyf With alle the do:
waire that is gyuen to me Wyth her . and leuer to suf
fer to be Wyth out Wyf than to lese the body of his frende /
And than he of landach Wedded the mayde . And Went
With his Wyf and With his richesse ageyn in to his contrie
And after this anone after hit hapend that the mar
chaunt of Egypt became so poure by euyl fortune . that he
Was constreyned to seche and begge his breed , by the con
tray in so moche that he cam to landach / and Whan he entrid
in to the toun hit Was derk nyght that he coude not fynde
the holdes of his frende / But Went and lay thys nyght in
an olde temple / And on the morne Whan he hold yssue
out of the temple / the offycers of the toun arestyd hym
and sayd? that he Was an homycide and? had slayn a man
Whiche lay there dede / And anone he confessid hit Wyth a
good Wyll . and had leuer to sen hangyd . than to dye in
that myserable and pouz hys that he suffryd . And thus
Whan he Was brought to Jugement . and sentence hold
haue sen gyuen ayenst hym as an homycide . His friend of
landach cam and saue hym and? anone knele that thys

Was his good frende of egypte . And forthwyth stepte
in and sayd that he hym self Was culpable of the deth of
this man . and not that other / and enforad hym in alle
maners for to delpue and excuse that other / And than
Whan that he that had doon the feet and had slayne the
man sawe this thyng / he considerid in hym self that these
two men Were innocent / of thys feet . And doubtyng the
dypne Jugement . he came tofore the Juge & confessyd
al the feet by ordre / And Whan the Juge sawe and herde
al thys mater and also the causes he considered the ferme
and trewe loue that Was betwene the two frendes / and
Understood the cause Why that one Wold saue that other
and the trowth of the fayte of the hompade . And than he
pardoned al the feet hooly and entierly . And after the
marchaunt of landach brought hym of egypt wyth hym in
to his holls / And gaf to hym his sister in mariage / and
departed to hym half his goodes . and so lothe of hem Were
riche / and thus Were they lothe hem faythful and trewe
frendes . Furthemoze notaries / men of lawe & crafty
men shold and ought to loue eche other / and also ought to
be contynent chaste and honeste / For by theyr craftes they
ought so to be by necessity . For they conuerse and ac-
compane them ofte tyme wyth Women / And therfore hit
aperteyneth to them to be chaste and honeste / And that
they meue not the Women nor entyse them to lawghe and
Jape by ony dysordynate ensignes or tokenes / Titus li :
uius rehereth that the philosopher democreon dyd doo put
out his eyen for as moche as he might not beholde the Wo-
men wyth out flesshly desyre / And how Wel it is sayd

before that he dyd hit for other certeyn cause yet Was this
one of the pryncipal causes . And Valerian telleth that
there Was a yong man of wome of right excellent beaulte
And how Wel that he Was right chaste . for as moche as
his beaulte meuyd many Women to desize hym , in so moche
that he vnderstood that the parentes and frendes of them
had suspexion in hym , he dyd his bysage to be kutte wyth
a knyfe and lancetis endlong and euerthwart for to de-
forme his bysage . and had leuer haue a folde bysage and
disformed . than the beaute of his bysage shold meue o-
ther to synne / And also We rede that there Was a Nonne
a Virgynne dyd do put out bothe her eyen . For as moche as
the beaute of her eyen meuyd a kynge to loue her , Whiche
eyen she sente to the kynge in a present . And also We rede
that plato the right ryche phylosopher left his owne lande
and contrie . and chase his mansion and dwelling in acha-
dumpe a toun , Whiche Was not onely destroyed but also
Was ful of pestelence , so that by the cure and charge and
customaunce of some that he there suffrid . myght escheue
the letes and occasions of lecherie / And many of his
disciples dyd in lyke wyse / helemand refereth that de-
mostenes the phylosopher laye ones by a noble Woman for
his dysporte , and playeng wyth her , he demaunded of her
What he shold geue to haue to doo wyth her / and she answered
to hym a thousand pens . & he sayd ageyn to her I shold
repente me to hye hit so deere . and When he aduysed hym
that he Was so sore chauffyd to speke to her for to accom-
plishe his flesshly desyre . he despoiled hym al nakyd and
Wente and put hym in the myddes of the snowe / And

Ouyde reherciith that thys thyng is the leste that maye
helpe and most greue the louers / and therfore saynt au:
gustyn reherciith in his booke de ciuitate dei that there was
a right noble romayn named Marculian that Wan and
took the noble cite of Simause. And tofore er he dyd doo
assayle hit or besight hit / or he had do lesbedde ony blood
he wepte and shedde many teeris tofore the cite / and that
was for the cause that he doubted that his peple shold de:
foule and corumpe to moche dishonestly the chastyte of the
toun. and ordeyned vpon payn of deth that no man shold
be so hardy to take and defoule ony Woman by force What
that euer she were. After thys the crafty men ought to
vnderstonde for to be trewe and to haue trowth in her mou
thes. And that theyr dedes folowe theyr wordes. For he
that sayth one thyng and doth another / he condempneth
hym self by his word / also they ought to see wel to that
they be of one accorde in good / by entente / by word, and
by dede. so that they be not discordaunt in no cas / But
that euery man haue pure verite and trowth in hym self.
For god hym self is pure verite / and men say comynly
that trowth seeketh noneernes ne corners. and trowth is
a vertu by the whiche alle drede and fraude is put away /
Men saye trewly when they say that they knowe. And
they that knowe not trowth. ought to knowe hys. And
alwey vse trowth. for saynt austyn sayth that they that
wene to knowe trowth. and lyueth euyl and hypocritly
it is folye yf he knoweth hit not / and also he sayth in an
other place that it is better to suffre payn for trowth / than
for to haue a benefete by falsnes or by flaterye. And man

that is callyd a beste resonable and? doth not his Werkes
after reson and trowth. is more bestial than ony beste
brute + and knowe ye that for to come to the trowth, hit
cometh of a resonable forsyght in his mynde + And speng
cometh of an outrageous and contrarie thought in hys
mynde, for he that lyeth Wittingly, knoweth wel that hit
is ageynst the trowth that he thynketh, and herof speaketh
saynt bernard and sayth. that the mouth that lyeth des-
troyleth the soule. and yet sayth saynt austyn in another
place. for to say one thyng and do the contrarye, maketh
doctryne suspicious. And? knowe ye verily that for to lye
is a right perilous thyng to body and soule / For the lye
that the auncient enemye maad eue and Adam to beleue
hym, made hem for to be dampned With alle their signage
to the deth pardurable / and made hem to be cast out of par-
dyse terrestre / For he maad? hem to beleue that god? had
not forbidden them the fruyt / but onely by cause they shold
not knowe that her mayster knewe / but how wel that the
deuyl sayd thysse wordes / yet had he double entente to hem
bothe / For they knewe anone as they had tastyd of the
fruyt that they Were dampned? to the deth pardurable.
And god knewe hit wel tofore. but they supposid? wel to
haue knowen many othez thynges, and to be lyke vnto
his knowleche and science. And therefore saith saynt poule
in a pistyl. hit ne apperteyneth to sauere or knowe more
than lehoueth to sauere or knowe / but to sauere or knowe
by mesure or sobrenes / And Valerian rehercieth that there
was a good woman of simaiane that wold? not lye vn-
to the kyng of Seille Whych was named? dyonyse + and

this kyng Was so ful of tyrannye and so cruel that alle
the World desired his deth and cursid hym. Sauf this Wo
man onely Whiche Was so olde that she had seen ij or fouz
kynges reynynge in the contre. and euery mornynge as
sone as she Was risen she prayed to god that he Wold
gyue vnto the tyrant good lyf and longe / and that she
myght neuer see his deth / And When the kyng dyonysse
knewe this he sent for her, and meruaylled moche how
for he knewe wel that he Was sore rebated / and demaunded
her. What cause meuyd hyr to praye for hym / & she answered
and sayd to hym. sirs When I Was a mayde we had a right
euyl tyrant to our kyng of Whom we coueyted sore the
deth / and When he Was dede there came after hym a Werse
of Whom we coueyted also the deth. and When we were de
lyuerd of hym. thou camest to be our lord Whiche art worst
of al other. and now I doute yf we haue one after the he
shal be worse than thou art / and therefore I shal praye for
the, and When dyonysse vnderstood that she Was so hardy
in sayeng the trowth / he durst not do torment her for shame
by cause she Was so olde.

The fourth chappitre of the thirde booke tretith of the maner
of the fourth palye & of the marchauntis or chaungers ca iiii



The fourth palye is sette tofore the kyng. and is
formed in the forme of a man holdyng in his right
hand a balaunce and the Weyght in the lyft hand. and to
fore hym a table/and at his gurdell a purse ful of money
redy for to geue to them that requyre hit. and by thys
peple ben signefyed the marchauntes of cloth synnen and
Wollen /and of al othez marchaundyces, and by the table
that is tofore hym is signefyed the chaungers and they
that lene money/ & they that bye and selle by the Weyght
ben signefyed by the balaunces /and Weyghtes/ And the

customers/tollars /and receyours of rentes & of money
 ben signefied by the purse .and knowe ye that alle they
 that ben signefied by this peple ought to flee auarice and
 couetyse /and escheue brekyng of the dayes of payment &
 ought to holde and kepe theyr promyses .& ought also to
 rendre and retere that. that is gyven to them to kepe / &
 therfore hit is reson that this peple be set tofore the kyng
 for as moche as they signefie the receyours of the tre :
 sours ryal that ought alwey to be redy tofore the kyng .&
 to answer for hym to the knyghtes and to other persones
 for theyr wages and souldyes / & therfore haue I said that
 they ought to flee auarice . For auarice is as moche to
 say as an adourez or as worshypour of fals ymages / and
 herof sayth tullius that auarice is a couetise to gete that
 thyng that is aboue necessite' and it is a loue disordynate
 to haue ony thyng / & it is one of the worst thynges that is
 & specially to prynces & to them that gouerne the thynges
 of the comunete . and this vyce causeth a man to do euyl
 and this wyng euyl is when hit reygneeth in olde men / &
 herof sayth Seneque . that all worldly thynges ben mar:
 tured and appetissed in olde men reseruyd auarice onely
 whiche alwey abydeth wyth hym and dyeth wyth hym /
 But I vnderstonde not wel the cause wherof this cometh
 ne wherfore hit may be , And hit is a folle thyng and
 contrarie to reson . that when a man is at the ende of his
 Journey for to lengthe his viage and to ordeyne more vi
 tayl than hym behoueth / & this may wel be likned to the
 auaricious Wolf . for the Wolf doth neuer good tyl he be
 dede' and thus it is sayd in the prouerbs of the Wyse men

that thauacious man doth no good tyl that he be deed .
and he desireth no thyng but to lyue long in thys synne/
for the couetous man certeynly is not good for ony thyng
for he is euyl to hym self & to the ricke & to the poure . and
fyndeth cause to gaynsay theyr desire , & herof reherceth se-
neque & sayth that antigonus Was a couetous pryncē , &
Whan tynque Whiche Was his frende requyred of hym a le-
saunt / he answered to hym that he demaunded more than hyt
apperteyned to hym / & than tynque constrained by grette
necessite ayd & requyred of hym a peny / & he answered to
hym that it Was no yeste couenable for a kyng . and so he
Was alwey redy to fynde a cause nought to geue . For he
myght haue gyuen to hym a lesaunt as a kyng to his
frende , and the peny as to a poure man . & ther is no thyng
so kital / but that the humanyte of a kyng may geue hyt/
auaice ful of couetise is a maner of al vices of luryrpe
& Josephus reherceth in the booke of aũcient histories . that
ther Was in rome a right noble lady named paulyne / and
Was of the most noble of rome . right honest for the no-
blesse of chastite / Whiche Was marped in the tyme that
the Women glorified them in theyr chastyte vnto a
pouge man / fayr . noble . and rich aboue al other . & Was
lyke and semblable to his wyf in al casis . And thys
paulyne Was belouyd of a knyght namyd enymerancian
and Was so ardantly espoused in her loue that he sent to
her many right rich yestes , and made to her many grette
promyses / but he myght neuer torne the herte of her Which
Was on her syde also colde and harde / as marbyll . But
he had leuer to refuse his yestes and his promyses .

Than to entende to couetyse and to lose her chastyte / & We
 rede also in the histories of Rome that there Was a noble
 lady of Rome Whiche lyued a solitarie lyf & Was chaste &
 honeste . & had gadrid to gedex a grate some of golde . and
 had hyd hit in the erthe in a pytte Wyth in her hows' & When
 she Was deed , the bisskop dyd do burye her in the chyrche Wel
 and honestly / and anone after this gold Was founden and
 born to the bysshop' and the bisskop had to caste hit in to the
 pytte Where she Was buried . & thre dayes men herd her crye
 & make grate noyse / & say that she brenned in grate payn
 and they herd her ofte tymes thus tormentid in the chir-
 che . the neyghbours Went Into the bysshop & tolde hym
 therof / & the bisskop gaf hem leue to open the sepulchre . &
 When they had openyd hit . they fonde al the golde molten
 With fire ful of sulphre & Was pouzed & put in her mouth
 & they herd one say . thou desizedest this gold by couetyse .
 take hys and drynke hys / And thenne they took the
 body out of the tombe / And hit Was cast out in a preup
 place . Seneque rehercieth in the booke of the cryes of
 Women that auarice is foundement of alle vyces , And
 Valerian rehercieth that auarice is a ferdful garde or keep-
 of richessis . for he that hath on hym or in his keepyngh
 moche money or othez richessis . is alwey aferd to lose hit
 or to be robbid or to be slayn therefore . & he is not elbous
 nez happy that by couetyse getieth hit , & al the euyls of this
 vice of auarice had a man of Rome named septenuille , for
 he Was a frend of one named tarchus , & this septenuille
 bzent so soze & so cruelly in this synne of couetyse . that he
 had no shame to Smyte of the hede of hys frend by trayson

For as moche as one framosian had promysed to hym as
moche Weyght of pure gold as the seed Waped . & he hure
the said seed vpon a staf throug the cite of rome . and he
bowed the brayn out therof & filled hys ful of seed for to
weye the heuyar, this Was a right horrible & cruel auarice
Ptolome kyng of egipcians purselved auarice in another
manere. for Whan anthonie emperour of rome sawe that he
Was right rich of gold & siluer / he had hym in grete hate &
tormentid hym right cruelly / and Whan he shold periss by
cause of his riches . he toke al his hauoiz & put hys in a
shippe / & Went With alle in to the hye see to thende for to
drowne & periss there the shippe and his riches by cause
anthonye his enemye shold not haue hit, & Whan he Was
there he durst not periss hit ner myght not fynde in hys
herte to departe from hit . but cam & brought hit agayn in
to his holdes Where he receyved the reward of deth therfore
& With out doubt he Was not lord of the riches but the
riches Was lady ouer hym, & therfore hit is sayd in prouer
he that a man ought to seignorie ouer the riches / & not for
to serue hit . yf thou canst delibly vse thy riches than he
is thy chamberer . & yf thou can not departe from hit & vse
hit honestly at thy plesur. knowe verily that he is thy
lady / for the riches neuer satisfieth the couetous / but the
more he hath the more he desireth / & saluste saith that aua-
rice destroublyeth fayth / honeste & al thise other good
vertues / And taketh for thise vertues / pryde / crueltye
and to forgete god . and sayth that al thynges he vendable
And after this they ought to be ware that they lene not.
to moche nez make so grete creaures by Whiche they may

fallē in pouerte, for saynt ambrose saith vpon thoby. pouerte
hath no lasse / for to owe hit is a shame / & to owe and not
paye is a more shame. yf thou be poure be ware how thou lo-
west. & thynke how thou mayst paye & rendre agayn yf
thou be riche thou hast no nede to borrowe & owe. & it is said
in the prouerbis that hit is fraude to take that thou wilt
not ner mayst rendre & paye agayn. & also hit is sayd in
reproche When I lene I am thy frende / & When I owe I am
thy enemye. as who saith 'god at the leryng' & the deuyll
at the rendryng. & seneca saith in his auctorites / that they
that gladly borrowe ought gladly to paye. & ought to sur-
mounte in courage to loue hem the better by cause they lene
hem & ayde hem in her nede. for benefites & good turnes don
to a man, ought to gyue hym thankynge therefore, and
much more ought a man to repaye that is lent hym in
his nede. but now in these dayes many men by leryng of
their money haue made of their frendes enemyes. & how
speketh domas the philosopher & saith that my frende bor-
rowed money of me / & I haue lost my frende & my money /
there was a marchaunt of gene & also a changeour whos
name was albert gancz / & this albert was a man of grete
trouth and loyaltie. for on a tyme there was a man cam
to hym and sayd and affermyd that he had deliueryd
in to his banke 3 hondred floryns of gold to kepe / whiche
was not trouth for he lyed. whiche 3 C floryns the sayd
albert knewe not of, ner coude fynde in al his booke ony
such money to hym due, & this spaz coude brynge no wy-
nes. but began to braye. crye & deffame the said albert / &
than this albert calld to hym this marchaunt and sayd

dere frende take here þe hundred florens Whiche thou offer :
meſt & ſayeſt that thou haſt deliuered to me . & forthwith
tolde hem and toke hem to hym . & ſo this good man had
leuer to loſe his good than his good name and renome .
and this other marchaunt toke theſe florens that he had
Wrongfully receyved .and employed them in diuerſe mar
chaundye in ſo moche that he gat and encreſed and Wan
With them 2 þe thouſand florens /and When he ſawe that
he approached toward his deſth . and that he had no children,
he eſtabliſhed albert his ſeyr in al thynges ' & ſayd that
With the 2 hundred florens that he had receyved of albert
faſſely , he had gotten alle that he had in the World / & thus
by deuyne purueaunce he that had be a theef fraudulent Was
maad after Ward a trewe procurour & atorney of the ſayd
albert /but now in theſe dayes there be marchauntis that do
marchaundiſe With other mennis money Whiche is taken
to hem to kepe . & When they ben requyred to repaye hit ,
they haue no ſhame to denye hit apertly / Wherof hit hapned
that ther Was a marchaunt Which had a good & a grette na
me & renome of keepyng Wel ſuche thynges as Was de
liuered to hym to kepe .but When he ſawe place & tyme , he
reſeyned hit lyke a theef . ſo hit beſel that a marchaunt of
Without forth herd the good reporte & fame of this man ,
cam to hym & deliuered hym grette treſour to kepe / & theſe
treſour aſode in yere in his keepyng / & after this thre yere
theſe marchaunt came and requyred to haue his good de
liuered to hym agayn . And theſe man knewe Wel that he
had no recorde ne Witnes to proue on hym this duece / nor
he had no obligacion ne Wrytyng of hym therof.

In such wyse that he denyed al entierly and sayd playn-
ly he knewe hym not . and When this good man herd and
vnderstood this . he Went sorrowfully and wepyng from
hym so ferre and longe that an olde Woman mette wyth
hym . and demaunded of hym the cause of his wepyng .
and he sayd to her Woman hit aperteyneth no thyng to the
goo thy Waye , And she prayed hym that he wold telle her
the cause of his sorowe / For peradventure she myght geue
hym counceyl good and proffyttable , and thenne this man
tolde to her by ordre the cause of his fortune / and the olde
Woman that was wyse and subtil demaunded of hym yf
he had in that cite any frende whiche wold be faythful and
trewe to hym / and he sayd yea . that he had dyuerse frendes .
Then sayd she goo thou to them and saye to them that
they doo ordeyne and bye dyuerse cofres and chestes . And
that they doo fylle them wyth some olde thynges of no va-
lue , & that they sayne & say that they be ful of golde siluer
and othe Jewels . and of moche grette tresour / & thenne
that they brynge them to this sayd marchaunt , & to say to
hym that he wold kepe the . for as moche as they had grette
trust in hym / & also that they haue herd of his grette trouthe
& good renome / & also they wold go in to fer contre / and
wold be longe er they retorned agayn / & Whilis they speke
to hym of this mater , thou shalt come vpon them & requyre
hym that he doo deliuer to the . that thou tokest to hym . &
I twowe by cause of the good men that than shal proffre to
hym the sayd tresour , and for the couetise to haue hit , he
shal deliuer to the thy good agayn / but be ware late hym
not knowe they ken thy good frendes ner of thy knowleche

This Was a grete and good counceyl of a Woman /and? Beuly it cometh of nature often tymes to Women to geue counceyl shortly and vnadysedly to thynges that ben in doubt or perilous and nedeth hasty remedye . and? as ye haue herd . this good man dyd? . and did? after her coun : ceyl . and came vpon them When they spak of the matre to the marchaunt for to deliuer to hym the sayd cofres to kepe Whiche his frendes had? sayned and requyred of hym that he had taken to hym to kepe/and than anone the sayd marchaunt sayd to hym I knowe the nothe Wel . for I haue adysed me that thou art suche a man /and comest to me suche a tyme ' and? deliuered to me suche a thyng Whiche I haue Wel kept , and? thenne callyd his clerke . and had hym goo fetche suche a thyng in suche a place and deliuer hit to that good man / for he deliuerd hit to me / and than the good man receyvyd? his good? , and Went his Waye right Joyously and glad. and? this marchaunt trichour & deceptuous Was defrauded from his euyl malice. and? he ne had neyther that one ne that other ony thyng that Was of value . and therefore hit is sayd? in prouerbe to defraude the begiler is no fraude/and he that doth Wel foloweth our lord? /and seneke sayth that charite enseigneth and techeeth that men shold paye Wel /for good payement is somtyme good confestyon , And? this marchaunt trichour and? de : ceptuous resemblith and is lyke to an hound that bereth a chese in his mouth When he swymmeth ouer a Water , for When he is on the Watre . he seeth the shadowe of the chese in the Watre/and than he Beneth hit he another chese & for couetyse to haue that. he openyth his mouth to catche

that / & than the cheste that he hane fallith down in to the Wa-
tre . and thus he loseth bothe Wo / & in the same Wyse Was
seruyd this marchaunt deceyuour / for for to haue the cofres
Whiche he had seen / he delyuerd agayn that he Boldo
haue holden Wrongfully . and thus by his couetise & propre
malice he Was deceyued . and therefore hit apperteyneth
to euery good and Wyse man to knowe and considere in
hym self how moche he hath receyued of other men . & Upon
What condycion hit Was delyuerd to hym / and it is to Wete
that this thyng apperteyneth to receyuours and to chaun-
geours . and to alle true marchauntis and other What
that someuer they be / and ought to kepe theyr booke of
resaytes and of paymentes of Whom and to Whom & What
tyme and day / and yf ye demaunde What thyng makyth
them to forgete suche thynges as ben taken to them to kepe
I answer and say that it is grete couetise for to haue tho
thynges to them self and neuer to departe from them, and
hit is alle her thought & desire to assemble alle the goodes
that they may gete . for they beleue on none other god /
But on her riches theyr hertes ben so obstynat and this
suffyseth of the marchauntis .

The fyfthe chapitre of the thyrd booke treteth of phyficiens medecynes spyces and apothiquaries capitulo B



He man that is sette tofore the quene signefyeth
 t the phyficien/spicaz apothiquare and is formed in the
 fygure of a man /and he is sette in a chayer as a maistre
 and holdeth in his right hand a booke and an ample or a
 boze With oynementis in his lyft hand and at his gurdell
 his instrumentis of yron and of siluer for to make Inci-
 sions and to seze woundes and hurtis and to cutte apof-
 tumes . And by thysse thynges ben knowen the surgyens
 By the booke ben vnderstonen the phyficiens and all gra-
 mariens . logy-ciens / maysters of lawe of geometrye ,

arismetrique . musique and of astronomie and by the am
pole ben signefyd the makers of pygmentaries spices &
apotiquaries / and they that make confecions and confi
tes and medecynes maad Byth precious spya / And by
the fferemens and Instrumentis that hangen on the
gurdel ben signefyd the Surgens and the maysters
and knowe ye forcerteyn that a maystre and physicien
ought to knowe the proporcons of lettres of gramayre .
the monemens the conclucions and the sophyms of logi
que / the gracious speche and ditteraunce of rethorique ,
the mesures of the houres and dayes . and of the cours of
astronomie . the nombze of arismetrique . and the iopous
songes of musique . and of al thysse tofore named / the
maysters of rethorique ben the chyeft maysters in specula
tyf . and the two last that ben practiciens and Werkes ben
callyd physiciens and surgens , how Wel they ben sage
and curous in thysse sciencas . and how Wel that manys
lyf is otherwhyle put in thordonaunce of the physicien or
surgyn yf he haue not sageste and wysedom in hym self
of dyuerse wytynges and is not expert , and medyth
hym in the craft of physique / he ought better he callyd a
flear of peple than a phisicien or surgyn . For he may
not be a maystre but yf he be selfe and expert in the craft
of phisike that he slee not moo than he cureth and maketh
hool / and therefore sayth auyenne in anforisme , yf
thou curest the seek man . And knowest not the cause .
Wherof the maladye ought to be cured . hit ought to be
sayd that thou hast cured hym by fortune and haue moze
than by ony kunnyng . And in al thysse maner of peple

they ought to be meure of good maners / curtosie of wordes / chastite of the body promysse of helthe . and as to them that ben seek contynuel vpsitation of them . & they ought to enquire the cause of theyr sekenesses and the signes and tokens of theyr maladies as is reherad in the bookes of the auctours by right grette diligence, and specially in the bookes of pocras galene and of aucapene, and When many maysters and phisiciens ben assembled tofore the pacient or seke man . They ought not there to argue and dispute one agaynst another / but they ought to make good and symple colacion to gedre in suche wyse as they be not seen in theyr dysputynge one agaynst another . for to encroche and gete more glory of the world to them self than to trete the salute and helthe of the pacient and seke man . I meruaylle why that When they see and knowe that When the seke man hath grette nede of helthe . Wherefore than they make grette obieccion of contrariounes for as moche as the lyf of man is demened and put amonge them / but hit is by cause that he is reputed most sage and wyse that argueth and bryngeth in most subtilties . And alle this maner is amonge doctours of lawe that tretith no thyng of mannes lyf / but of temporel thynges that he is holden most wyse and best lerned / that by his counceyl can best accorde the contentions and dyspensions of men / and therefore ought the phisiciens and surgyens leue When they be tofore the seke men al dyscensions and contrariounes of wordes . in suche wyse that hit appere that they studie more for to cure the seke men than for to dispute / And therefore is the phisicien duly sette tofore

the quene .so that it is figured that he ought to haue in
hym self chastyte and contynence of body / For hit apper:
teyneth som tyme vnto the phisician to visite and cure
quenes duchesses countesses and alle other ladies &
see and beholde some secreit sekenessis that falle and come
otherwhile in the secretis of nature. And therefore hit as:
perteyneth to them that they be chaste and folowe honeste
and chastyte / and that they be ensaumple to other of good
contynence. For Valerian referaith that yppocras was of
meruapllous contynence of his body. For when he was
in the scoles of athenes, he had by hym a right fayr wo:
man whiche was comyn / and the yonge scolers and the
Joly felawes that were students promysed to the woman
a kesaunte pf she myght or coude torne the corage of ypp:
cras for to haue to doon wyth her / and she came to hym by
nyght and dyd so moche by her craft that she laye wyth
hym in his bedde / But she coude neuer do so moche that
she myght corump his chaste hyuyng ne defoule the crowne
of his conscience. and when the yonge men knewe that
she had ben wyth hym al the nyght. & coude not chaunge
his contynence. they began to mocque her / and to aye &
demaunde of her the kesaunt that they had geuen to her.
And she answered that hit was holden and gaged vpon
an ymage / for as moche as she myght not chaunge hys
contynence she callyd hym an ymage / and in semblable
wyse referaith Valerian of Senocrates phylosopher that
there lay wyth hym a woman alle nyght and tempted
hym dysordonatly / but that right chaste man made ne:
uer semblaunt to her / nez he neuer remeuyd from hys

ferme purpos / in suche wyse as he departed from hym al
confused and shamed / Cornelius scapion that was sent
by the romayns for to gouerne spayn, as sone as he entred
in to the castells and in to the townes of that londe. he
began to take adweye al tho thynges that myght stur or
meue his men to lecherie. Wherefore men sayd that he drof
and chased out of the host moo than two thousand four
dells. and he that was wyse knewe wel that despite of le:
cherie compted and ampyred the courages of tho men that
ben abandoned to the same despite. And herof it is sayd
in the fables of the poetes in the first booke of the troupes
of the philosophres by figure / that they that entred in to
the fonteyne of the Sirenes or mermaydens / Were corrup:
ped and they took them adweye wyth hem / And also ye
ought to knowe that they ought to entende dylygently to
the cures of the infirmities in cyrurgerie, they ought to
make theyr plaisters accordyng to the woundes of soores
yf the wounde be wounde. the enplastre must be wounde. and
yf hit be longe. hit must be longe. And otherwyse hit
must be cured by his contrarie. lyke as it apperteyneth to
phisique. for the hete is cured by colde, and the colde by hete
and Joye by sorowe. and sorowe by Joye. and hit happeneth
ofte tymes that moche peple be in grette paine in takyngh
to moche Joye and lese her membris. and become half kene:
men in the sodeyn Joye, and ioye is a replecion of thyng
that is delectable spred a brode in alle the membres wyth
right grette gladnes. and al men entende and desyre to
haue the sayd right grette Joye naturzelly / but they knowe
not what may ensue & come therof / and this Joye cometh

other While of Vertue of conscience / And the Wise man is
not Wyth out this ioye / and this Joye is neuer interrupt
ne in defaulte at no tyme . for hit cometh of nature . and
fortune may not take away that nature geueth / & marcial
sayth that Joyes fuyetpues abyde not long / but fle away
anone . and Valerian referaith that he that hath force and
strength reasonable . hath hit of very matier of cōpleccōn
and that cometh of loue / and this Joye hath as moche
power to departe the soule fro the body . as hath the thondre
Wherof hit happend that there Was a Woman named Lyna
Whiche had her husbond in the Warre in the byppys of
the romayns . and she supposid veryly that he Was deed
but hit happend that he came agayn home . and as he en
tred in to his yate / his Wyf mette Wyth hym sodaynly not
Warned of his comyng / Whiche Was so gladd and Joyous
that in embracyng hym she fyl down deed / also of ano
ther Woman to Whom Was reported by a fals messenger
that her sone Was deed / Whiche Went home sorowfully to
her holles . and after Ward When her sone came to her / as sone
as she sawe hym she Was so esmoued Wyth Joye that she
deyed tofore hym . but this is not so grete meruayle of
Women as is of the men . For the Women ben lykened
vnto softe Waxe or softe aper / and therfore she is callyd
Mulier Whiche is as moche to saye in latyn as mollis aer
and in englyss softe aper / and hit happeth ofte tymes that
the nature of them that ben softe and mole . taketh sōner
Inpressyon than the nature of men that be rude & stronge
Valerie referaith that a knyght of wme named instaulo
rus that had newly cōquered & subdued the yle of corsika

and as he sacrificed his goodes / he receyved letters from
the senate of Rome in Whiche Were conteyned dyuerse
supplications / the Whiche Whan he vnderstood he Was so
glad and so enterprised wth Joye that he knewe not
What to do / and than a grete fume or smoke yssued out of
the fire in Whiche he dyspaynd and fyl in to the fyre Where
he Was anone deed And also it is sayd that phylomenus
laboured so sore & distemperatly that he dyed al labouryng
And We rede that pyrcus the phisician found remedye for
this Joye, For Whan he had long dwellyd out of his
contrey for to lerne kunnyng and wysedom and shold
retorne vnto his parents and frendes / Whan he approchyd
nigh them he sent a messenger tofore for to telle them
his comyng / and comaunded hym to saye that he cam / for
they had not longe tofore seen hym / and that they shold
attempre them in that Joye or they shold see hym, And
also We rede that titus sone of Vaspasian Whan he had
conquered Iherusalem and abode in the contrees by / he herde
that his fader Vaspasian Was chosen by al the senate for to
gouverne the empyre of rome Wherefore he had so right grete
ioye that sodeynly he lost the strength of al his membres
and became al Inpotent. And Whan Josephus that made
the hystoie of the romayns agest the Jewys. Whiche Was
a right wyse phisician sawe and knewe the cause of this se
kenes of the sayd titus. he enquired of his folke yf he had
in hate any man greatly so moche that he myght not here
speke of hym ne wel se hym. and one of the seruauntes
of titus sayd that he had one persone in hate so moche, that
ther Was no man in his court so hardy that durst name

hym in hys presence: & than Josephus assigned a day Whā
this man shold come: & ordeyned a table to be sette in the
sight of titus: & did hit to be replenysshed plentifully wyth al
dayntees: & ordeyned men to be armed to kepe hym in suchē
wyse that no man shold hurt hym by the comaundement of
titus: & ordeyned bousalers, cookes / & other officers for to ser
ue hym Royallylly like an emperour: and Whā al this
Was redy, Josephus brought in this man that titus hated
& sette hym at the table tofore his eyen and Was serupd of
pong men With grete reuerence right curtoisly. & Whā ti
tus behelde his enemye sette tofore hym With so grete ho
nour. he began to chauffe hym self by grete felonye / and
comaunded his men that this man shold be slayn: & Whā he
saue / that none wold obeye hym / but that they al Wey ser
upd hym reuerently / he Waxe so ardent and enbraced wyth
so grete yre. that he that had lost al the force & strengthe
of his body and Was al Impotent in alle his members.
reouerdy the helth agayn and strengthe of hys members
by the hēte that entrydy in to the Raynes and synelbes,
And Josephus dyd so moche that he Was reouerpyd
and hoole / And that he helde that man no more for hys
enemye / But helde hym for a terry trewe frende. And
afterward maad hym his loyal felowe & compayoun.
And the espycers and apoticaries ought to make trewly
suche thynges as is comaunded to them by the phisiciens
& they ought to accomplishe their billes & charge curiously
With grete diligence. that for none other cause they shold
be occupied but in makynge medecynes or confections trewly
& that they ought byn payl of their soule not to forgete
B j

by neglygence ne rechelesnes to gyue one medecyne for an
other / in suche wyse that they be not sleaze of men . And
that they doo put no false thynges in her spices for to en
payze or encreepe the weyght for yf they so do they may
better be callyd cheyus than espiers or apothecaries . And
they that ben accustomed to make opnementis they ought
to make it properly of trewe stuffe and of good odoure
after the receptes of the auncient doctours . and after the
forme that the phisiciens and surgiens deuise vnto them
also they ought to be ware that for none auayle ne gyfte
that they ought haue / that they put in their medecynes no
thyng venemous ne doyng hurte or scathe to any persone
of Whom they haue no good ne true knowledge / to thende
that they to Whom the medecynes shold be geuen / to be not
to them hurt ne damage / ne in destruccions of their neygh
bours / & also that they that haue mynystrid tho thynges
to them . ben not taken for parteners of the blame and
of the synne of them . The surgiens ought also to be de
bonayr / amiable / and to haue pyte of theyr patients . and
also they ought not be hasty to launce & cutte apostumes &
soores . ne open the heedes . ner to arme the bones broken .
but yf the cause be apparant . For they myght ellesse lose
theyr good renomee . And myght better be callyd sou
chers thanne helars or guarissours of woundes and so
res . And also hit behoueth that alle this maner of pe
ple a fore sayd that haue the charge for to make hool
and guariss the alle maner of maladies and Infirmities
that they first haue the cure of them self . and they ought
to purge them self from alle apostumes and alle sores

in such wyse that they be net and honeste & enformed in
 al good maners . and that they shewe hem hole and pure &
 redy for to seke other . and how sayth boecius de consolaci-
 one in his first booke that the sterres that ben hyd vnder
 the clowdes may geue no light . And therfore yf any man
 wyl beholde clere the verite, late hym Withdraue hym
 fro the obscurite and darknes of the clowdes of ygnorance
 for than the engyne of a man sheweth in ioye or in sorow
 the pensee or thought is enuoluped in obscurite and vnder
 the clowdes .

The sixte chapitre of the thyrd booke treteth of the sixte
 moun which is likenyd to tauerneis hostelers and by-
 sayllers capitulo Bj



The sixte man Which stondeth tofore the alphy
t on the lyfte syde is made in this forme / For hit is
a man that hath the right hand stretched out as for to
calle men / and holdeth in his left hande a loof of breede
and a cuppe of Wyne . and on his gurdell hangyng a bondell
of keyes / and this resemblith the tauerneers . hostellers / &
sellars of Bytaye . and thise ought properly to be sette to
fore the alphy . as tofore a Iuge / For there soundeth oft
tymes amonge hem contencion noyse and stryf . Whiche
behoueth to be determyned & tryed by the alphy . Whiche
is Iuge of the kyng / and hit aperteyneth to them for to
seke and enquire for good Wyne good Bytaye for to
gyue and selle to the byars . and to them that they herke :
wille . And hit aperteyneth to them wel to kepe theyr
herberwes and Innes / And alle tho thynges that they
brynge in to theyr lodgyng . and for to putte in seu-
re and sauf Warde and keepyng . And the first of them
is signefyd by the lyfte hand in Whiche he leueth breede
and Wyne . And the second is signefyd by the right
hand Whiche is stretched out to calle men / and the thyrde
is representyd by the keyes hangyng in the gurdell . and
thise maner of peple ought to eschewe the synne of glo-
tonye / For moche peple come in to theyr howses for to
drynke and for to ete for Whiche cause they ought reso-
nably to rebble them self and refuyn them from to
moch mete and drynke . to thende that they myght the
more honestly deliuer thynges nedeful vnto the peple that
come vnto them / & no thyng by outrage that myght noye
the body . For hit happeth oft tymes that there cometh of

glotonye. tencions. stryfs. riottes. Wronges & molestacōns
 by Whiche man lese other Whyle theiz handes, theyz eyen and
 othez of theyz membrs / and somtyme ben slayn or hurte
 Into the deth as it is Breton in Vitae patrum. as on a
 tyme an hermyte Went for to Visite his gossibs. & the de-
 uyl append to hym on the Wey in likenes of another her-
 myte for to tempte hym. & said thou hast left thy hermy-
 tage / & goest to Visite thy gossibs / the behoueth by force to
 do one of the iii thynges that I shal say to the / thou shalt
 chese Whether thou Wolt be dronk. or elles haue to do flessch
 the With thy gossyb / or elles thou shalt flee her husbond
 Whiche is thy gossib also. & the hermyte that thought for
 to chese the leste euyl chafe for to be dronke. and When he
 cam Into them he drank so moche that he Was very dronk
 and When he Was dronke and eschauffyd With the Wyne. he
 Wold haue a doo With his gossyb / & her husbond Withstood
 hym / & than the hermyte slewe hym. & after that laye by
 his gossyb & knele her flesschly. & thus by this synne of
 drunkenhpy he accomplisshed the two other synnes. By
 Whiche thyng ye may vnderstonde and knowe that When
 the deuyll Wyl take one of the castellys of Ihesu Cryst.
 that is to Wete the body of a man or of a Woman / he doth
 as a prynce that setteth a siege tofore a castel that he
 Wold Wynne. Whych entendeth to Wynne the gate. For
 he knoweth wel When he hath wonne the gate. he may
 sone doo his Wyll Wyth the castel / And in lyke Wyse
 doth the deuyll Wyth euery man and womman. For When
 he hath wonne the gate / that is to Wete the gate of the
 mouthe by glotonye or by any other synne.

he may do Wyth the offycers of the body al his Wyll as ye
haue herd tofore, & therfore ought every man ete & drynke
sobriely in suche Wyse as he may lyue / & not lyue to ete glo
tonsly & for to drynke dronk/ye se comunely that a grette
hole is suffisid With right a hitil pasture. & that one Wode
suffiseth to many oleyhauntes. hit lehoueth a man to be
fede by the erthe or by the see / neuertheles it is no grette
thyng to fede the hely. no thyng grette as is the desire
of many metes Wherof Cyprian saith/that hit hapeth
ofte tymes in grette festes & dyncers. that We be fylled
With the sight of the noble and richous metis & Whan We
Wold ete We ben faciat and fylled / & therfore it is sayd in
prouerbe. hit is better to fille the helye than the eye. & lu
can saith that glotony is the moder of al vyces' & especial
of lecherie / & also is destroyar of al goodes' & may not haue
suffysaunce of hitil thyng. A couetous longer What se
kest thou mete and vytayllis on the lande and in the see.
& thy ioye is no thyng ellis but to haue playntous dys
shes & Wel filled at thy table lerne how men may demene
theyr lyf Wyth hitil thyng. and cathon saith in no Wyse
okeye to glotonie Whiche is frende to lecherie / & the holy
doctour saynt augustin sayth. the Wynn eschauffith the hely
that falleth anone to lecherie/the hely and the membris
ben neighbours to lecherie. & thus the vice of glotonie pro
uoketh lecherie. Wherof cometh forgetenes of his mynde
and destruccion of alle quyet and sharpe reason / And is
cause of distemperance of his Wyttis. What synne is
fowler than this synne & more styngyng ne more doma
geous, for this synne had taken away the vertu of man

his proWesse languyssheth • his Vertue is torned to diffame
 the strengthe of body and of courage is torned by the , and
 therefore saith Basilly la gmount , late he take hede howe he
 serue the belly and the throte by glotonye like as he were
 dombe bestys , and he studie for to be lyke vnto felues of
 the see , to Whom nature hath gyuen to be alwey enclyned
 toWard the erthe • & therto loke for to serue theyr helpes • &
 howe sayth / Boecius de consolacione • in his fourth booke
 that a man that lyueth and doth not the condicions of a
 man • may neuer be in good condicion / than must hit ne-
 des be that he be transported in nature of a beste or of a be-
 lue of the see , howe wel that right grete men and Women
 ful of meruayllous sciences and noble counayle in thysse
 dayes in the world be norished in this glotonye of Wyne
 and metes / & ofte tymes ben ouer seen • howe suppose ye . is
 hit not right a perillous thyng that a lord or gouernour
 of the peple and comyn bele howe wel that he be wyse / yf he
 eschauffe hym soone so that the Wyn or othe drynke sur-
 prise hym & ouercome his brayn / his wysedom is lost • for
 as catton sayth / he enpesseth the courage in suche as he
 may not kepe verite and trowth , & anone as he is chauffid
 lecherie is meuyd in hym in suche wyse that the lecherie
 makyth hym to meddle in dyuerse bylayns dedes , for than
 his wysedom is a slepe and goon . & therefore sayth ouyde
 in his booke de remedio amoris yf thou take many and dy-
 uerse Wyne • they appawple and enforce the courages to le-
 cherie • And Chobye wytnessyth in his booke that luxurie
 destroyeth the body and mynyssheth rychessys . he loseth
 the soule . he febleth the strengthe he blyndeth the syght
 b iij

and maketh the Boys hoore and make ha a right euyl & foule synne of drunkenhipe by the prissith Birgynye Which is suster of aungellis possedyngh al goodnes and seurte of al Joyes pardurable. Noe Was one tyme so chauffyd Wyth Wyn that he discoverd and slewid to his sones his pruy membris in such Wyse as one of his sones mocked hym / and that other couerd hem. and loth Which Was a man right chaste Was so assoted by mocke drynkyngh of Wyn. that on a mounteyn he knelle hys doughters carnelly' and had to doo Wyth them as they had ben his propre Wyues' and Crete reheraith that Boeca Which Was flour of the men, tresour of richesses / synguler hous of sappence / myrrour of the World, odour of good renomee / and glorie of his subgettis lost al these thynges by his luxurie. We haue seen that dyuerce that Were Joyed by grete amytie to geder Whiles they Were sobre. that that one Wold put his body in parrill of deth for that other and Whan they Were eschauffid With Wyn and dronke / they haue wonne eche Wyth other for to slee hem / and some haue ben that haue slayn so his frende / Herodes Antipas had not doon saynt John baptist to ben beheaded / ne had the dyner ben ful of glotonye and drunkenhipe. salthazar kyng of babilone had not been chaced out of his kyngdom ne he slayn yf he had he sobre emonge hys peple Whom tyms and dares fondr drunken and slewe hym. The hostelerz ought to be Wel bespoken and curtopes of Wordes to them that they receyue in to theyr lodgyngh / For fayr speche & Joyous chiere andr delonayr cause men to gyue the hosteler a good name. And therefore hit is sayd in a comyn

prouerke curtyse langage & Wel sayeng is moche Worth
and coste lytyl / And in another place it is sayd that
curtysye passeth beaultie + also for as moche as many pa-
uertes, and aduentures may happen on the Wayes & passa-
ges to hem that been herewarded Wyth in theyr Innes.
therefore they ought to accompanye them When they departe
and enseigne them the Wayes and telle to them the pa-
uertes / to thende that they may surely goo theyr Wyage &
Journey. And also they ought to kepe theyr lodges /
theyr goodes & the good fame and renomee of theyr Innes
We rede that Both When he had receyved the aungellys
in to his hows right desonably. Whiche he had supposid had
ben mortal men and straungers, to thende that they shold
eskepe the disordynate and vnaturall synne of lecherie
of the sodomites, by the vertu of good fayth. he sette apart
the naturel loue of a fader. & proferd to them his dought-
ers. Whiche were byrgyns. to thende that they shold kepe
them and defende them fro that villayn & horrible synne
And knowe ye for certeyn that al tho thynges that been
taken & deliuerd to kepe to the hoste or hostessis they ought
to be sauf and yelden ageyn Withouth apparyng. for the
hoste ought to knowe Who that entrieth in to his hous for
to be herewarded takith hit for his habitation for the tyme
he hym self. and alle suche thynges as he bryngeth Wyth
hym ben comysed of right in the Warde and keepynge of
the hoste or hosteler / and ought to be as sauf as they were
put in his owne propre hows. and also suche hostes ought
to holde seruauntes in theyr hows Whiche shold be trewe &
With out auarice, in suche Wyse that they coueyte not to

haue the goodes of theyr ghestes / and that they take not
away the prouender fro theyr horses When hit is gyuen to
them / that by thoccasion therof their horses prysse not ne
faylle theyr maister When they haue nede / and myght falle
in the handes of theyr enemyes . For than shold the ser-
uauntes be cause of that euyl . Wherefore their maysters
shold see to, for With out doubt this thyng is Worse than
theft / hit happend on a tyme in the parties of lombardy
in the cyte of Jene that a noble man Was lodgyngh in an
hostelrye Wyth moche compaignie . and When they had gyuen
prouendour to theyr horses . in the first oure of the nyght
the seruaunt of the hols came secretly tofore the horses
for to stele away theyr prouender / and When he came to the
lordes hors / the hors caught With his teth his arme and
helde hit fast that he myght not escape / and When the thief
saw that he Was so strongly holden / he began to crye for
the grette payn that he suffred and felte / in suche wyse that
the noble mannyngs meyne cam Wyth the hoste / But in no
maner / ner for ought they coude doo . they coude not take
the thief out of the horses mouth vnto the tyme that the
neighbouris Whiche Were noyed Wyth the noyse came and
saw hit / and the thief Was knowen and taken & brought
to fore the Iuge / and confessyd the feat and by sentence
diffynitif Was hanged and lost his lyf . and in the same
wyse Was another that dyd so / and the hors smote hym in
the bysage / that the prynte of the hors shoo & nayles alyde
euer in his bysage / another was right cruel & vilaynous
fyl at tholouse hit happend a pongh man and his fader
Went a pylgrimage to Saynt James in galice and Were

lodged in an hostelrye of an euyl host and ful of right
grete couetyse in so moche that he desired and coueyted the
goodes of the two pylgrymes . and here byn aduysed
hym and put a cuppe of siluer secretly in the male that
the pong man bare . and When they departed out of theyr
lodgyngh / he folowed after hem and sayd tofore the peple
of the court that they had stolen and borne away his cuppe
and the pong man excused hym self and his fader . and
sayd they were Innocent of that caas / And thenne they
serched hem / and the cuppe was founden in the male of the
ponge man , and forthwith he was dampned to deth and
hanged as a theef . and thus feet don . al the goodes that
longed to the pylgrym were deliuered to the hoste as con-
fisked / And than the fader went forth for to do his pyl-
gremage . and When he came ageyn he must nedes come &
passe by the place where his sone hynge on the gybet ' and
as he came he complayned to god and to Saynt James
how they myght suffre this aduenture to come vnto his
sone . anone his sone that hyngh spake to his fader & said
how that saynt James had kept hym with out harme '
and had his fader goo to the Juge and shewe to hym the
myracle ' and how he was Innocent of that fait / and When
this thyng was knowen the sone of the pylgrym was ta-
ken down fro the gybet . and the cause was brought tofore
the Juge / and the host was accused of the trayson . and
he confessyd his trespass / and sayd he dyd hit for coue-
tyse to haue his good . and than the Juge dampned hym
for to be hanged on the same gybet where as the ponge
pylgrym was hanged , And that I haue sayd of the

seruauntes keynq men / the same I say of the Women as
chaumberers and tapsters / for semblable was fyl in spayn
at saynt donne of a chaumberer . that put a cuppe in lyke
wyse in the scrppe of a pylgryme / by cause he wold not
haue a do wyth her in the synne of lecherie / Wherfore he was
hanged / and his fader and moder that were there wyth
hym went and dyd her pylgrymage and whan they came
agayn they fonde her sone luyng / and than they went &
tolde the Iuge / Whiche Iuge sayd that he wold not beleue
hit til a cok and an henne whiche rosted on the fyre were
a fyue and the cok crowde / and anone they began to wepe
a fyue and the cok crowde and began to crowde & to pasture.
and whan the iuge sawe this myracle , he went & toke down
the sone , and made the chaumberer to be taken and to be
hanged . Wherfore I say that the hostes ought to holde no
tapsters ne chaumberers , but yf they were good . meure &
honeste / For many harmes may be falle and come by the
disordenate rebble of seruauntes .

The seventh chapitre of the thyrd tractate treteth of ke :
 pars of tollnes, customers & tolle gaderers capitulo vij



The gardes and keparz of citees ben signefyed by
 the seventh paly Which stondeth in the lyft side to
 fore the knyght and is formed in the semblaunce of a
 man holdyng in his lyft hond grete keyes and in his
 right hand a pottle and an elle for to mesure Wyth & ought
 to haue on his gurdel a purse open . and by the keyes ben
 signefied the keparz of the citees and tollnes and comyn
 offyces and by the pottle and elle ben signefyed them that
 haue the charge to Weye and mete and mesure treWelly,
 and by the purse ben signefyed them that receyue the

costumes / tolles / scabage, peages. and duties of the cy-
ties and townes / and these peple ben sette by right tofore
the knyght and hit sheweth that the gardes & officers
of the townes be taught and enseigned by the knyghtes
and that they knowe and enquire how the cities & townes
ben gouerned Whiche aperteyneth to be kept and defended
by the knyghtes . and first hit aperteyneth that the lie-
uers of the cite be diligent / hely / cleve sayeng and louers
of the comyn prouffyt and Wele . as Wel in the tyme of
pees as in the tyme of Warre / they ought alwey to goo in
the cite and enquire of al thynges and ought reporte to
the gouernours of the cite suche thyng as they fynde and
knowe / and suche thyng as aperteyneth and to the seurte
of the same . and to denounce and telle the defaultes and
parells that there be . and yf hit be in tyme of Warre they
ought not to open the pates by nyght to no man . And
suche men as ben put in this offyce . ought to be of reno-
me and fame / trewe / and of good conscienc / in suche ma-
ner that they loue them of the cite or towne / And that
they put to no man ony blame or blyame With out cause
by enuye couetyse ne by hate / but they ought to be sory and
heuy When they see that ony man shold be compleyned on
for ony cause / For hit hapeth ofte tymes that dyuerse
officers accuse the good peple fraudulently / to thende that
they myght haue a thanke and ben praysed and to abyde
style in theyr offces , and trewly hit is a grete and hye
maner of malice to be in wyll to doo euyl and dyffame
other Wyth out cause to grete glorie to hym self / also the
keepers and officers of cyties ought to be suche that they

suffre no wronges ne bylonyes tofore the Juges and go
uernours of cities wpythout cause to be doon to them that
ben Innocentes but they ought to haue theyr eyen and re
garde vnto hym / that knoweth the hertes and thoughtes
of al men / and they ought to drede and doubt hym. With
out Whos grace theyr Watche and keppyngh is nought . &
that promyseth to them that doubt hym shal be euous
and happy and by hym ben al thynges accomplisshed in
good . hit is founden in the histories of wome that them:
perour frederik the second dyd doo make a gate of marble
of meruayllous Werk and enteyple in the cyte of capnane
vpon the Watre that renneth about the same / And vpon
this gate he made an ymage lyke hym self sittyngh in his
mageste and two Juges Whiche were sette . one on the
right side and that other on the left side . and vpon the ser
cle aboue the hede of the Juge on the right side Was Wreton
al they entre seurely that Wyl lyue purely . and vpon the
sercle of the Juge on the left side Was Wreton / the vntre:
We man ought to doubt ' to doo thyng that he be put to
pryson fore . and on the sercle aboue the emperour Was
Wreton . I make them lyue in misery that I see lyue dis
mesurably . and therefore hit aperteyneth to a Juge to
shewe to the peple for to drede and doubt to do euyl . and
byt aperteyneth to the gardes and offycers to doubt the
Juges and to doo trewly theyr seruyces and offycers . &
hit aperteyneth to a pryncer to menace the traytours and
the malefactours of night greuous paynes . and howe We
fynde in the aunient histories of caille that the kyngh
denys had a broder Whom he louyd fore Wel / But al they

Where he Went, he made heuy and triste semblaunt / & thus
as they Went tothe to gyder on a tyme in a chare / ther cam
agan hem two poure men With glad bysage but in foule
habyte / and the kyng anone as he sawe them sprange out
of his chare and receyved them Worthipfully With grete
reuerence / Wherefore his barons Were not onely amercy-
lesed .but also angry in their courages not Withstondyng
fere and drede letted them to demaunde hym the cause /
But they made his broder to demaunde the cause and to
knowe the certeynte / and Whan he had herde his broder say
to hym the demaunde / that he Was blessed and also a kyng
Whiche Was rich and ful of deuytes and Worthypes . he
demaunded hym yf he Wold assaye and knowe the grace
and beneyte of a kyng . and his broder answered ye .
and that he desired and requyred hit of hym / And than
the kyng comaunded vnto alle his subgettis that they
shold obey in al thynges onely vnto his broder . & than
Whan the oure of dyner cam . and al thyng was redy /
the broder Was sette at the table of the kyng . And Whan
he sawe that he Was seruyd With right noble hostlers and
other offycers / and he herde the sowndes of musique right
melydious . The kyng demaunded hym than . yf he sup-
posed that he Were leueous and blessed . and he answered
I Wene wel that I am right blessed and fortunat / and
that I haue wel proued and felt and am expert therof .
And than the kyng secretly made to be hanged ouer his
head a sharpe cuttyng yerde hangyng by an hors here or
a sylken threde so smale that no man myght see hit Where
by hit henge . And Whan he sawe his broder put no more

his hand to the table, ne had no more regarde vnto his
seruauntes / he sayd to hym Why ete ye not . ar ye not bles-
sid / say yf ye fele any thyng otherwyse than blesid and
wel . and he answered for as moche as I see this sharpe
werde hangynge so subtilly & perilously ouer myn hede I
fele wel that I am not blesyd / for I drede that hit shold
falle on my hede . & thenne dyscouerd the kynge vnto hem
al wherfore he was alwey so heuy cheryd & tryste . For
where he was he thought alwey on the werde of the secrete
rengaunce of god . Whiche he keelde alwey in his herte .
Wherfore he had alwey in hym self grate drede , and ther-
fore he worshyppyd gladly the poure peple with glad by-
sage and good consaience / And by this sheweth the kynge
wel . that what man that is alwey in drede is not alwey
mery or blesyd / And herof sayth quyntilian that this
drede surmounteth alle other maleurties and euylles , for
it is maleurte of drede nyght and day . And it is verite
that to hym that is doubted of moche peple . so muste he
doubte moche / And that lorde is lasse thenne his seruau-
tes that dredeth his seruauntes , and truly hit is a right
sure thyng to drede no thyng but god & somtyme right har-
dy men ben cōstrayned to lyue in drede drede causith a man
to be hely to kepe the thynges that he cōmysed to hym that
they perissh not / but to be to moche hardy & to moche ferd-
ful . both wo ben vices . the comyn officers ought to be
wyse & wel aduysed in suche wise that they take not of the
peple ne requyre no more thā they ought to haue by zeson
ne that they take of the fellars ne of the byars no more
thā the right custome . for they bere the name of a persone

And therefore ought they to shewe them comune to alle
men/and for as moche as the byars and fellows haue som
tyme moche langage . they ought to haue Wyth them these
vertues .that is to be patience and good comage Wyth
honestie / for they that ben despytous to the comune / been
otherwhile had in bylains despyte therefore shewe that
thou haue no despyte vnto the poure mendicants / yf thou
wylt come and attayne to thynges souerayn / for the Iniu
rye that is doon Wyth out cause / torneth to diffame hym
that doth hit . a Jogheleer on a tyme behelde socrates & sayd
to hym thou hast the eyen of compour of children and
art as a traitor / and when his dysciples herde hym / they
bold auengyd theyr maister / but he repreuyd hem by suche
sentence sayeng / suffre my felawes . for I am he and
suche one as he sayth . by the sight of my bysage / But I
refrayne and kepe me wel from suche thyng / this same so
crates hym self was chide & right foule spoken to of his
wyf . & he imposid to hym many grete Injuries Wyth out
nombre / and he was in a place about ouer his heed / and
when he had brawled y nough he made her water & poured
hit on his heed / and he answered to her no thyng agayn
sauf when he had dryed and wypped his heed . he said he kne
we wel that after suche wynde and thondre shold come
rayne and water . And the philosophers blamed hym
that he coude not gouerne his women / that was his wyf
and his chaumberer / and shewyd hym that one wyke go
uerned wel x vii hennes . he answered to them that he was so
vsed & acustumed With theyr chiding that the chidingis
of them ne of straungers dyd hym no greef ne harme /

gyue thou place to hym that bradbleth or chideth / And in
suffryng hym thou shalt be his Raynquysshour and calthou
saith When thou spuest rightfully / reche the not of the
wordes of euyl peple / and therfore hit is sayd in a comyn
prouerbe . be that wel doth recheleth not Who seeth hit . and
hit is not in our power to lette men to speke . and prosper
sayth that to good men lacketh no goodnes / ner to euyl
men tencions stryues & blames . & pacience is a right no-
ble vertu. as a noble hersefier saith, that pacience is a right
noble maner to Raynquyssh. for he that suffreth ouerco-
meth / and yf thou wyll Raynquyssh and ouercome . lerne
to suffre . the peagers ner they that kepe passages ought
not to take other peage ne passage money but suche as the
pryncer or the lawe haue establisshed / so that they be not
more robours of money than receyuours of peage and
passage . And hit aperteyneth to them to goo out of the
perelous weyes and doubteuous for to kepe theyr offyce
and they ought to requyre theyr passage of them that
owe to paye hit wyth out noyeng and contencion . and
they ought not to loue the comyn prouffyt so moche . that
they falle in the hurtyngh of theyr consience . For that
shold be a maner of robbery . and herof sayth ysaye / Woo
to he that robbest . for thou thy self shalt be robbyd . The
gardes or porters of the gates of cities and of the comyn
good ought to be good and honest / and al trowth ought
to be in them & they ought not to take ne wythdrawe the
goodes of the comyn that they haue in keepynge more than
aperteyneth to them for their pencion or fee / so that they
that ben made tresozers & keepers ben not named theys /

For Who that taketh more than his / he shal neuer thryue
 With al men shal not enioye hit longe . for of euyl gotten
 good the thirde heyre shal neuer reioyse / & thys suffyseth :

This eyght chapytre of the thirde booke treateth of ribaul-
 des . players of dyse & of messagers and? carmours on this



#6

The ribauldes players at dyse & the messagers & car-
 mours ought to be sette tofore the wolk. for hit apper-
 tyneth to the wolk Whiche is Vicary of the kyng to haue
 men couenable for to renne here & there for tenquyre & es-
 pye the places & cities that myght be contrarie to the kyng

And thes man that representeth this peple ought to be
 formyd in this maner . he must haue the forme of a man
 that hath long beiris and black and holdeth in his ryght
 hand a silf money and in his left hand the dyse . & aboute
 hym a corde in stede of a gurdell . and ought to haue a bope
 ful of letters / & by the first Whiche is money is vnder
 stonde they that be sole large & wastours of theyr goodes
 and by the second Whiche is the dyse / ben represented the
 playes at dyse / rhaundes & butters / & by the thyrde Whiche
 is the bope ful of letters . ben represented the messagers /
 carours / and leuers of letters / & ye shal vnderstonde that
 the rooke Whiche is bycayse of the kynge When he seeth to
 fore hym suche peple as ben sole large and wastours / he is
 bounden to constitute and ordeyne vpon them tutors &
 curatours to see that they ete not ne waste in suche maner
 their goodes ne their heritages . that pouerte constrayne
 hem not to stele for he that of custume hath had habundance
 of money & goeth & dispendeth hit folisly & wasteth
 hit alwey When he cometh to pouerte & hath nought . he must
 nedes begge and aye his breed / or ellis he must be a theef
 For suche maner of peple / yf they haue ben delycious they
 wyl not laboure / for they haue not lernyd hit ,
 And yf they be noble and comen of gentylmen , they
 be a schamp to are and begge / And thus must they
 by force When they haue wasted theyr owne propre goodes
 yf they wyl lyue they must stele and robbe the goodes
 of othre . And ye shalle vnderstonde that sole large
 is a ryght euyl bycayse . For hold wel that he doeth good
 and prouffyt somtyme to othre .

yet he doth harme and domage to hym that so wasteth .
Cassiodore admonesteth the folke larges to kepe their thynges
that by no necessity they falle in pouerte / and that they
be not constrayned to begge ne to stele of other men . For
he sayth that hit is greater subtilte to kepe wel his owne
goodes than to fynde straunge thynges . & that it is greater
vertue to kepe that is gotten than to gete and Wynne
more , & claudyan saith in like wyse in his booke that byt
is a greater thyng & better to kepe that is gotten . than to
gete more 'and therefore hit is sayd that the poure demaundeth
& beggeth or he felth , & also hit is said that he that
dispendeth more than he hath With out stroke he is smyten
to the deeth / There was a noble man named John de gana
zath Whiche was right rich . and this man had but two
doughters Whom he married to two noble men , and Whan he
had married them, he loued so wel his sones in lawe theyr
hussondes that in space and succession of tyme, he departed
to them al his goodes temporel / and as longe as he gaf
to them they obeyed hym and were right diligent to please
and serue hym / So hit befel that on a tyme that he had
alle gyven in so moche that he had right nought / Than
hit happend that they to Whom he had gyven his goodes .
Whiche were wont to be amiable and obaysaunt to hym
as longe as he gaf , Whan the tyme came that he was
poure and knele that he had nought . they became un-
kynde / Dysagreeable and dysobaysaunt . And Whan
the fader sawe that he was deceyved by his desonayrite
and loue of his doughters / He despyred and coueyted
fore to eschewe hys pouerte .

Atte laste he Went to a marchaunt that he knewe of olde
tyme . and requyrd him to lene to hym x thousand pound
for to paye and rendre agayn Wyth in thre dayes / And
he lente hit hym / and Whan he had brought hit in to hys
hous / hit happend that hit Was a day of a solempne feste
on Whiche day he gaf to his daughters and her husbondes
a right noble dyner / & after dyner he entred in to his chā
bre secretly Wyth them / and drew out of a coffre that he
had do make al new Bittyngh Wyth thre lockes the mo
ney that the marchaunt had lente hym . and poured hit out
vpon a tapete that his daughters & their husbondes myght
see hit / and Whan he had shewyd hit vnto them he put hit
vp ageyn & put hit in to the cheste saynyng that hit had
been al his . & Whan they Were departed he bare the money
home to the marchaunt that he had borrowd hit of . and the
next day after his daughters & their husbondes appd of
hym how much money Was in the cheste that Was sette
Wyth thre lockis / and than he fayned & sayd that he had
therin xx thousand ponde . Whiche he kept for to make
his testament and for to leue to his daughters & hem . yf
they wold here hem as wel to hym afterward as they did
Whan they Were married . and than Whan they herde that .
they Were right ioyous and glad / & they thought & con
cluded to serue hym honourably as wel in clothynge as in
mete and drynke and of alle othez thynges necessarye
to hym vnto hys ende / And after this Whan the ende of
hym began to approche . he callyd his daughters and their
husbondes & sayd to hem in this manere ye shalle vnder
stonde that the money that is in the cheste shalle vnder

three lockes I Wyl leue to your/laupng I Wyl that ye geue
in my presence or I dye Whiles I lyue to the free pe-
chours an hondred ponde, and to the free menours an
hondred ponde/ and to the heremytes of saynt austyn fifty
pounde to thende that Whan I am hurped and put in the
erthe ye may demaunde of them the keyes of the chest Where
my tresour is Inne /Whiche keyes they kepe / and I haue
put on eche kepe a bylle and Witnyng in Witnesynge of
the thynges aboue sayd / And also ye shal vnderstonde
that he dyd to be gyuen Whyles he lay in his deeth bedde to
eche chyrche and rectase and to your peple a certeyn quan-
tite of money by the handes of his daughters husbondes
Whiche they dyd gladly in hope to haue shortly the money
that they supposid in the cheste . and Whan hit came to the
last day that he dyed . he Was borne to chyrche and his eye
qupe doon and Was buried solempnly . And the seuenth
day the scrupse was hyppfully accomplisshed . They Went
for to demaunde the keyes of the religious men that they
had kept . Whiche Were deliuered to them / & than they Went
and opened the coffre Where they supposid the money had
ben Inne , and there they fond no thyng but a grete
clubbe . and on the handyng Was Writon / I John of ca-
nazath make this testament . that he be slayn wyth this
clubbe , that leueth his owne prouffyt , and gyueth hit to
other / as Who sayth hit is no wysedom for a man to gyue
his good to his chyldren and kepe none for hym self
And ye shal vnderstonde that hit is a grete folpe to dys-
pende and waste his good, in hope for to recouer hit of other
he hit of sone of daughter or right nygh kynne / for a man

ought to kepe in his hand in dispendyng his owne goodes
tofore he see that he dispende other mennys ' and he ought
not to be holden for a good man that hath hitil renomee
and spendeth many thynges, and I twolde that suche per-
sones wolde gladly make nouelletes as for to noye and
greue seignories and meue Warres and tensions agaynst
them that shoulde in richesses and goodes, and also make
extorciōs clamours and tribulaciōs ayenst theyr lordes
to thende to Waste the goodes of the peple. Like as they
haue Wasted theyres, and suche a Wastour of goodes may
neuer be good for the comyn prouffyt, and ye shal Under-
stonde that after these Wastours of goodes We saye that
the players of dyse and they that be lordelys ben Wast
of al othe. for Whyn the lye of playeng at the dyse. &
the couetise of theyr styntynge lecherie hath brought hem
to pouerte. hit follooweth by force that they must be theys
and wblours / and also dronkenshyp gloteny and alle
maner of euyls folowe them and myschyp / and they
folowe gladly the companyes of knyghtes and of noble
men Whan they goon into the Barre or battayles. And
they couete not moche the Victorie as they do the w
herpe / and they do moche harme as they goo, And they
brynge hitil gayn & Wyngynge. Wher hit happend on a
tyme that saynt bernard rode on an hors about the contrey
and mette Wyth an hasardour or dyse player. Which sayd
to hym thou goodes man Wylt thou playe at dyse With me
thyn hors ayenst my folle. to Whom saynt bernard answered
yf thou Wylt oblige thy folle to me ayenst my hors / I
Wyl a lyght down and playe Wyth the ' and yf thou haue

mo poyntes than I on thre dyse I promyse the thou shalt
haue myn hors, and thenne he Was glad . and anone caste
thre dyse / and on eche dyse Was a sise, Whiche made y viij
poyntes , and anone he took the hors by the brydel / as he
that Was seure that he had? Bonne / and sayd? that the
hors Was his . and? than saynt bernard? sayd abyde my
sone . for there he mo poyntes on the dyse than y viij and?
than he cast the dyse in such? Wyse that one of the iij dyse
clefte a sondre in the myddes / and on that one parte Was
ij . and? on that other side an aas / and eche of that other
Was a sise . And? than saynt bernard? sayd that he had?
Bonne his soble for as moche as he cast on thre dyse
ix poyntes . and? than Whan this player saide & apercey?
uyd? thys myracle . he gaf his soble to saynt bernard and
became a monke and? fynysshed his lyf in good Werkyng .
The curours and leuys of letters ought fastely and? spe
dely do her byage that is comaunded? hem . With out tar
pyng . for theyr tarpengh myght noye and greue them
that sende hem forth . or ellis them to Whom they be sent to
And? tozue hem to right grete domage or bylonye , For
Whiche cause euery noble man ought wel to take hede to
Whom he delyuer his letters and? his maundementis . and?
other Whiles such? peple ben Joghelers and dwonkylle . and
goon out of their weye for to see abhayes and? noble men
for to haue aduantage . and hit happeth ofte tymes , that
Whan such? messagers or curours ben enpessid . by ony tar
pieng , that other curours bere letters contrarie to hys .
and come tofore hym / of Whiche thynges ofte tymes co
meth many thynges discouenable of losse of frendes of

castells • and of lande and many other thynges as in
the feet of marchaundyses ; and other While hit happeneth
that a prynce for the faulte of suche messangers leseth to
haue victorie vpon his enemyes 'and also there be some
that When they come in a cite Where they haue not ben to
fore .they ben more lesy to visite the cyte and the noble
men that dwelle therein .than they ben to do theyr boyaue
Whiche thyng they ought not to do / but yf they had spe-
cial charge of them that sent hem forth so to doo ,
And also When they be sent forth of any lordes mar-
chautes they ought to be wel ware that they charge hem
not wyth ouer moche mete on mornynge ne wyth to
moche wyne on euenynge / Wherby her synes & paynes
myght be greuyd 'that they must for faute of good re-
warde . but they ought to goo and come hastily for to re-
porte to their maysters answers as hit apperteyneth . and
thise suffysen of the thynges aboue sayd ,

The fourth tractate and the last of the progression and draughtes of the forsayd playe of the chesse.

The first chapitre of the fourth tractate of the chesse booke
in genere hold it is maad capitulo primo



We haue deuyfed aboue the thynges that aperteyne
vnto the formes of the chesse men and of their offi
ces, that is to wete as wel of noble men as of the comyn
peple / Than hit aperteyneth that we shold deuyse shortly
hold they yssue and goon out of the places where they be
sette, And first we ought to speke of the forme and of
the facion of the chequer after that hit representeth and

Was made after / for hit Was made after the forme of the
cite of babylone / in the Whiche this same playe Was ma-
den as hit is sayd afore . and ye shal vnderstande that ye
ought to considere here in foure thynges. The first is Wher-
fore that lxxiij poyntes ben sette in the eschequer Whych
ben al square / The second is Wherfore the bordure about
is hygher than the squarenes of the poyntes . The thyrde
is Wherfore the comyn peple ben sette before the nobles .
The fourth is Wherfore the nobles and the peple ben sette
in theyr propre places / Ther ben as many poyntes in the
eschequer boode as fulle . and ye shal first vnderstande
Wherfore that there ben lxxiij poyntes in the eschequer / for
as the blessed saynt Iherome sayth . the cite of babylone
Was right quare and Was maad al square . and in every
quarter Was xviij myle by nombre and mesure' the Whiche
nombre four tymes tolde Was lxxiij myles . after the ma-
ner of lombardye they be callyd myles . and in fraunce len-
tes . and in england they be callyd myles also . And for
to represente the mesure of this cite' In Whiche this playe
or game Was founden . the philosopher that fond hit first
ordayned a tablier conteynyng lxxiij poyntes square . the
Whiche ben comprised wyth in the bordur of the tablier /
there ben xxiiij on that one side and xxiiij on that other
side Whiche ben ordayned for the beautie of the playe . and
for to shewe the maner and drawyng of the chesse as hit
shal appere in the chappytre folowynge . And as to the
second . Wherfore the bordure of the eschequer is hygher
than the table wyth in . hit is to be vnderstande that the
bordur about representeth the Wall of the cite Whych is

right hygh / and therefore made the philosopher the hordur
more hygh than the tabler. and as the blessed Saynt
Iherome sayth vpon the prophesie of ysaye / that is to Wete
vpon a mounteyn of obsaurete. Whiche Wordes Were sayd
of babilone Whiche standeth in calde / & no thyng of that
babilone that stondeth in egypt. for it is so that babilone
Whiche stondeth in calde Was sette in a right grete playn
And had so hygh Walles that by the heyght of them Was
contynuel derkenes enuyronned and obsaurete. that none
erthly man myght beholde and see the ende of the highnes
of the Walle. and therefore ysaye callyd hit the montaigne
obsaure / And saynt Iherome saith that the mesure of the
heyght of this Walle Was thre thousand pas. Whiche ex
tendeth vnto the lengthe of thre myle lombardes / hit is
to Wete that lombarde mylis and englyssh myles ben of
one lengthe / and in one of the corners of thys cyte Was
made a four triangle as a felde, Wherof the heyght exten
ded vnto the lengthe of vii thousand pas / Which is seven
myle englyssh / and thys toure Was called the toure of babel
the Walles about the toure made a Woman Whos name
Was sempamis as sayth Virgilius / As to the thyrd
Wherfore the comyn peple ben sette tofore the nobles in the
felde of the batayl in one reuge, first for as moche as they
ben necessaie to al nobles / For the wok Whiche stondeth
on the right side and is bycayr of the kyng What may he
doo yf the labourer Were not sette tofore hym & laboured
to mynystre to hym suche temporel thynges as he necessa
ie for hym / And What may the knyght doo yf he ne had
tofore hym the smyth for to forge his armourz + sadellys

apps and spers & suche thynges as aperteyneth to hym .
And What is a knyght Worth Wythout hors and armes /
certeynly no thyng more than one of the peple or lasse
perauenture , and in What maner shold the nobles lyue
yf no man made cloth and bought and solde marchandysse
And What shold kynges and quenes and the other lordes
do yf they had no physiciens ne surgyens , Than I say
that the peple ben the glorie of the crowne and susteyne
the lyf of the nobles . And therefore thou that art lord
or a noble man or knyght / despyse not the comyn peple
for as moche as they ben sette tofore the in the playe .
The second cause is Why the peple ben sette tofore the no-
bles and haue the table boorde tofore them / is be cause they
begynne the bataylle / they ought to take hede and entende
to do theyr offyces and theyr craftes ' in suche wyse that
they suffre the noble men to gouerne the cyties and to
counceyle & make ordinaunces of the peple & of the ba-
taylle . how shold a labourer a plow man or a crafty man
counceyl and make ordinaunce of suche thynges as he
neuer lerned . and wote ne knoweth the mater vpon
What thyng the counceyl ought to be taken / Certes the
comyn peple ought not to entende to none other thyng but
for to do their seruyce and the offyce Whiche is couenable
vnto hem / and hit aperteyneth not to hem to be of coun-
ceyls ne at the aduocacions 'ne to menace ne to threte no
man , for ofte tymes by menaces and by force good coun-
ceyl is destroubled ' and Where good counceyl fayleth .
there ofte tymes the cyties ben betrayed and destroyed ,
And plato sayth that the comyn thynges and the cyties

ben blessed When they ben gouerned by Wyse men / or When
the gouernours studie in Wyseedom. and so hit aperteyneth
to the comyn to lerne to sette the maters. and the maner
of prouision tofore they be counayllours / For hit hap
peth often tymes that he that makyth hym Wyser than he
vnderstandeth is made more fool than he is . and the iij
cause Wherefore that there ben in y tabler as many poyntes
Boye as ben fulle / hit is to bete for that they What euer
they be that haue peple to gouerne . ought tenfore to haue
citres & castells & possessyons for to sette his peple therein
and for to labour and do theiir occupation. For for to haue
the name of a kynge Wythout a royaume is a name Boie.
and honour Wythout prouysyt / and al noblesse Wyth out
good maners / and Wyth out suche thynges as noblesse
may be mainteyned . ought better be calld folke than no
blesse / and shameful puerie is the more greuous When
hit cometh by nature of an hygh and noble birth or hous
For no man gladly Wyl repare a poure man of the co
myn peple . but every man hath in despyte a noble man
that is poure . yf he haue not in hym good maners and
vertuous . by Whiche his puerie is forgotten . And truly
a royaume Wyth out habundaunce of goodes by Whiche hit
may be gouerned and prospere . may better be calld a la
trocynne or a nest of theues than a royaume . Alas What
habundaunce Was somme tymes in the royumes / & What
prosperite in Whiche Was Justye and every man in his
offyce content. how stood the cyties that tyme in Worshyp
& renome. how Was renowned the noble royaume of england
alle the World drede hit and spake Worshyp of hit . How

hit now standeth and in What abundaunce I report me
to them that knowe hit . yf there ben theys Wyth in the
wyame or on the see . they knowe that labour in the wy-
ame and sayle on the see / I Wote Wel the fame is grete
therof / I pray god saue that noble wyame . & sende good
trewe and polletique counsellours to the gouernours of
the same . and noblesse of signage Wyth our myghte &
myght is but myghte and dyspyte . And hit is so as We
haue sayd tofore that the schequer Whiche the phylosopher
ordeyned represented and figured the sayd cite of laby-
lone . and in like Wyse may hit figure a wyame and sig-
nesse alle the World . and yf men regarde and take heed
vnto the poyntes vnto the myddes of euery quadrant &
so to double euery quadrant to other the myles of this cite
alwey doublynge vnto the nombre of lxxij . The nombre
of the same shold surmounte al the World . and not onely
the World but many Worlde by the doublynge of myles.
Whiche doublynge so as afore is sayd shold surmounte all
thynges . & thus endeth the first chapytre of the iij booke

The second chappitre of the fourth tractate treteth of the draught of the kynge & how he meuyth in the chequer as ij



We ought to knowe that in thys world the kynges
 W seynourie and regne eche in his wyame, And
 in this play we ought to knowe by the nature of hit how
 the kyng meuyth hym and yssueth out of his place / for
 ye shal vnderstonde that he is sette in the iij quadrante or
 poynt of the chequer, and when he is black, he standeth in
 the whyt, and the knyght on his right side in whyt / & the
 alphyne and the rok in black / and on the left side the iij
 holden the places apposite / and the reason may be suche /

For by cause that the knyghtes been the glorie and the
crowne of the kyng they ensieble in semblable residence that
they do Whā they be sette semblably on the right side of the
kyng & on the left side of the quene / & for as moche as the
work on the right side is Vicayr of the kyng he accompay
eth the quene in semblable siege that the alphynd doth Whi
che is Juge of the kyng / And in like Wyse the left work &
the left alphynd accompaye the kyng in semblable siege .
In such Wyse as they ben sette about the kyng in bothe si
des With the quene in maner of a crowne that they may
seurely kepe the royaume that reluyeth and byneth in the
kyng & in the quene . in such Wyse as they may conferme
& diffende hym in their sieges & in their places . and the
more hastily renne vpon his enemyes / for as moche as
the Juge the knyght and the Vicayr kepe & garnysse the
kyng on that one side / they that ben sette on the other side
kepe the quene / & thus kepe they al the strength & fermeté
of the royaume . & semblably otherwhile for to ordeigne the
thynges that aperteyne to the counceyl / & to the besoygne
of the royaume / for yf ech man shold entende to his owne
proper thynges . And that they deffendyd not nez toke
hede vnto the thynges that aperteynen to the kyng . to
the comyn . and to the royaume . the royaume shold anone
be deuyded in parties . And thus myght the Juge
reigne / And the name of the dygnite shall shold
be loste . And truly for as moche as the kyng holdeth
the dygnite aboue alle other and the seignorie wyll .
therefore hit aperteyneth not that he absente hym long
ne wythdrawe hym ferre by space of tyme from the maister
k ij

mo poyntes than I on thre dyse I promyse the thou shalt
haue myn hors, and thenne he Was glad . and anone caste
thre dyse / and on eche dyse Was a sise, Whiche made v Bin
poyntes , and anone he took the hors by the brydel / as he
that Was seure that he had Bonne / and sayd that the
hors Was his . and than saynt bernard sayd abyde my
sone . for there he mo poyntes on the dyse than v Bin and
than he cast the dyse in such a wyse that one of the iij dyse
cleft a sondre in the myddes / and on that one parte Was
Bj . and on that other side an aas / and eche of that other
Was a sise . And than saynt bernard sayd that he had
Bonne his sothe for as moche as he cast on thre dyse
ix poyntes . and than Whan this player saide & aperay-
uyd this myracle . he gaf his sothe to saynt bernard and
became a monke and fynished his lyf in good Werkes .
The curours and leuys of letters ought hastily and spe-
dely doo her wyage that is comaunded hem . With out tar-
ryng . for theyr tarryng myght noye and greue them
that sende hem forth . or ellis them to Whom they be sent to
And tome hem to right grete domage or bylonye , For
Whiche cause euery noble man ought wel to take hede to
Whom he deliuer his letters and his maundementis . and
otherwhyles suche peple ben Joghelers and drunkilde . and
goon out of their weye for to see abhayes and noble men
for to haue abauntage . and hit happeth ofte tymes , that
Whan suche messagers or curours ben enpessid . by ony tar-
ryng , that other curours bere letters contrarye to hys .
and come tofore hym / of Whiche thynges ofte tymes co-
meth many thynges disconuenable of losse of frendes of

castelles . and of lande and many other thynges as in
the fest of marchaundyses , and othey While hit happeth
that a prynce for the faulte of suche messangers leseth to
haue victorie vpon his enemyes 'and also there be some
that When they come in a cite Where they haue not ben to
fore . they ben more lesy to visite the cyte and the noble
men that dwelle therein . than they ben to do theyr boyaue
Whiche thyng they ought not to do / but yf they had spe-
cial charge of them that sent hem forth so to doo ,
And also When they be sent forth of any lordes mar-
chautes they ought to be wel ware that they charge hem
not wyth ouer moche mete on mornynge ne wyth to
moche wyne on euenynge / Whereby her synelles & raynes
myght be greuyd 'that they must for faute of good wyble
tarpe . but they ought to goo and come hastily for to re-
porte to thei maysters answers as hit aperteyneth . and
thise suffysen of the thynges aboue sayd ,

The fourth tractate and the last of the progression and
 draughtes of the forsayd playe of the chesse

The first chapitre of the fourth tractate of the chesse booke
 in genere hold it is maad capitulum primo



¶ We haue deuyfed aboute the thynges that apperteyne
 vnto the formes of the chesse men and of their offi
 ces. that is to wete as wel of noble men as of the comyn
 peple / Than hit aperteyneth that we shold deuyse shortly
 how they yssue and goon out of the places where they be
 sette. And first we ought to speke of the forme and of
 the facion of the chequer after that hit representeth and

Was made after / for hit Was made after the forme of the
cyte of babiloyne / in the Whiche this same playe Was fou
den as hit is sayd afore + and ye shal vnderstande that ye
ought to considere here in foure thynges. The first is Wher
fore that lxxiiij poyntes ben sette in the eschequer Whych
ben al square / The second is Wherfore the lordeur about
is hygher than the squarenes of the poyntes. The thyrd
is Wherfore the comyn peple ben sette tofore the nobles.
The fourth is Wherfore the nobles and the peple ben sette
in theyr propre places / Ther ben as many poyntes in the
eschequer boode as fulle + and ye shal first vnderstande
Wherfore that there ben lxxiiij poyntes in the eschequer / for
as the blessed saynt Iherome sayth, the cite of babilone
Was right grete and Was maad al square, and in every
quarter Was xviij myle by nombre and mesure the Whiche
nombre fouz tymes tolde Was lxxiiij myles. after the ma
ner of lombardye they be callyd myles. and in fraunce leu
res + and in england they be callyd myles also. And for
to represente the mesure of this cyte In Whiche this playe
or game Was fouden, the philosopher that foud hit first
ordayned a tablier conteynyng lxxiiij poyntes square, the
Whiche ben comprised Wyth in the lordeur of the tablier /
there ben xxiiij on that one side and xxiiij on that other
side Whiche ben ordayned for the beaultie of the playe. and
for to shewe the maner and drawyng of the chesse as hit
shal appere in the chappytres folowynge. And as to the
second + Wherfore the lordeur of the eschequer is hygher
than the table Wyth in. hit is to be vnderstande that the
lordeur about representeth the Wall of the cyte Whych is

right hygh / and therefore made the philosopher the hordur
more hygh than the tabler. and as the blessed Saynt
Iherome sayth vpon the prophesie of ysaye / that is to wete
vpon a mounteyn of obscure. Whiche wordes were sayd
of babilone Whiche standeth in calde / & no thyng of that
babilone that standeth in egypt. for it is so that babilone
Whiche standeth in calde Was sette in a right grete playn
And had so hygh Walles that by the heygth of them Was
contynuel derkenes enuyronned and obscure. that none
erthly man myght beholde and see the ende of the highnes
of the Wall. and therefore ysaye callid hit the montaigne
obscure / And saynt Iherome saith that the mesure of the
heygth of this Wall Was thre thousand paces. Whiche ex
tendeth vnto the lengthe of thre myle lombardes / hit is
to wete that lombarde myles and englissh myles ben of
one lengthe / and in one of the corners of this cite Was
made a four triangle as a felde, Wherof the heygth exten
ded vnto the lengthe of vii thousand paces / Which is seuen
myle englissh / and this four Was called the four of labele
the Walles about the four made a Woman Whos name
Was sempnamis as sayth Virgilius / As to the thyrd
Wherfore the comyn peple ben sette tofore the nobles in the
felde of the batayl in one reuge, first for as moche as they
ben necessarye to al nobles / For the work Whiche standeth
on the right side and is hyer of the kyng What may he
doe yf the labourer were not sette tofore hym & labourd
to mynystre to hym such temporel thynges as he necessa
rie for hym / And What may the knyght doe yf he ne had
tofore hym the smyth for to forge his armourz + saddleys

appes and spers & suche thynges as aperteyneth to hym .
And What is a knyght Worth Wythout hors and armes /
certeynly no thyng more than one of the peple or lasse
perauenture . and in What maner shold the nobles lyue
yf no man made cloth and bought and solde marchandysse
And What shold kynges and quenes and the other lordes
do yf they had no physiciens ne surgyens . Than I say
that the peple ben the glorie of the crowne and susteyne
the lyf of the nobles . And therefore thou that art lord
or a noble man or knyght / despyse not the comyn peple
for as moche as they ben sette tofore the in the playe .
The second cause is Why the peple ben sette tofore the no-
bles and haue the table boorde tofore them / is be cause they
begynne the bataylle / they ought to take hede and entende
to do theyr offyces and theyr craftes ' in suche wyse that
they suffre the noble men to gouerne the cyties and to
counceyle & make ordinaunces of the peple & of the ba-
taylle . how shold a labourer a plow man or a crafty man
counceyl and make ordinaunce of suche thynges as he
neuez lerned . and wote ne knoweth the mater vpon
What thyng the counceyl ought to be taken / Certes the
comyn peple ought not to entende to none other thyng but
for to do their seruyce and the offyce Whiche is couenable
vnto hem / and hit aperteyneth not to hem to be of coun-
ceyls ne at the aduocacions ' ne to menace ne to threte no
man , for ofte tymes by menaces and by force good coun-
ceyl is destroubled ' and Where good counceyl fayleth .
there ofte tymes the cyties ben betrayed and destroyed ,
And plato sayth that the comyn thynges and the cyties

ben blessed When they ben gouerned by Wyse men / or When
the gouernours studie in Wysedom. and so hit aperteyneth
to the conyn to lerne to better the maters. and the maner
of prouision tofore they be counayllours / For hit hap
peth often tymes that he that makyth hym Wyser than he
vnderstandeth is made more fool than he is . and the iij
cause Wherefore that there ben in þe tabler as many popntes
Boys as ben full / hit is to bete for that they what euer
they be that haue peple to gouerne / ought tenfore to haue
citres & castells & possessyons for to sette his peple therein
and for to labour and do theiir occupation / For for to haue
the name of a kynge Wythout a wyame is a name Boye.
and honour Wythout prouysyt / and al noblesse Wyth out
good maners / and Wyth out such thynges as noblesse
may be mainteyned . ought better be calld folke than no
blesse / and shamefull puerie is the more greuous When
hit cometh by nature of an hygh and noble byrth or hous
For no man gladly wyl repare a poure man of the co
myn peple . but every man hath in despyte a noble man
that is poure , yf he haue not in hym good maners and
vertuous . by Whiche his puerie is forgotten / And truly
a wyame Wyth out habundaunce of goodes by Whiche hit
may be gouerned and prospere . may better be calld a las
troynge or a nest of theues than a wyame . Alas What
habundaunce Was somme tymes in the wyames / & What
prosperite in Whiche Was Justye . and every man in his
offyce contented. how stood the cyties that tyme in Worshyp
& renome. how Was renowned the noble wyame of england
alle the World drede hit and spake Worshyp of hit . How

hit now standeth and in What abundaunce I repute me
to them that knowe hit . yf there be theys Wyth in the
wyame or on the see . they knowe that labour in the wy:
ame and sayle on the see / I Wote Wel the same is grete
therof / I pray god saue that noble wyame . & sende good
trewe and polletique counsellours to the gouernours of
the same and noblesse of signage Wyth out pynsaunce &
myght is but Rynke and dyspyte . And hit is so as We
haue sayd tofore that the schequer Whiche the phylosopher
ordeyned represented and figured the sayd cite of laby:
lone . and in like Wyse may hit figure a wyame and sig:
nesse alle the World . and yf men regarde and take heed
vnto the poyntes vnto the myddes of euery quadrant &
so to double euery quadrant to other the myles of this cite
alwey doublynge vnto the nombre of lxiij . The nombre
of the same shold surmounte al the World . and not onely
the World but many Worldes by the doublynge of myles.
Whiche doublynge so as afore is sayd shold surmounte all
thynges . & thus endeth the first chapytre of the iij booke
k j.

The second chappitre of the fourth tractate treateth of the draught of the kyng & how he meuyth in the chequer on ij



¶ E ought to knowe that in thys world the kynges
 B seynourie and regne eche in his wyame, And
 in this play we ought to knowe by the nature of hit how
 the kyng meuyth hym and yssueth out of his place / for
 ye shal vnderstonde that he is sette in the iij quadrante or
 poynt of the chequer .and when he is black, he standeth in
 the whyt, and the knyght on his right side in whyt / & the
 alphys and the rook in black 'and on the left side the iij
 holden the places apposite / and the reason may be suche/

For by cause that the knyghtes kepe the glorie and the crowne of the kyng they ensiege in semblable residence that they do Whā they be sette semblably on the right side of the kyng & on the left side of the quene / & for as moche as the wolk on the right side is Vicary of the kyng he accompanyeth the quene in semblable siege that the althyn doth Whiche is Juge of the kyng / And in like Wyse the left wolk & the left althyn accompanye the kyng in semblable siege . In such Wyse as they kepe sette about the kyng in bothe sides With the quene in maner of a crowne / that they may surely kepe the royaume that respyeth and byneth in the kyng & in the quene . in such Wyse as they may conferme & diffende hym in their sieges & in their places . and the more hastily renne vpon his enemyes / for as moche as the Juge the knyght and the Vicary kepe & garnyshe the kyng on that one side / they that kepe sette on the other side kepe the quene / & thus kepe they al the strength & fermete of the royaume . & semblably otherwhyle for to ordeigne the thynges that apperteyne to the counceyl / & to the besoygne of the royaume / for yf eche man shold entende to his owne proper thynges . And that they deffendyd not nez toke hede vnto the thynges that apperteynen to the kyng . to the comyn . and to the royaume . the royaume shold anone be deuyded in parties . And thus myght the Juge regne / And the name of the dygnite shall shold be loste . And truly for as moche as the kyng holdeth the dygnite aboue alle other and the seignorie shall . therefore hit apperteyneth not that he absent hym long / ne wythdrawe hym ferre by space of tyme from the maister

k ij

siege of his wyame/ for When he Wyl meue hym. he ought
not to passe at the first draught the number of iij. poyntes
& When he begynneth thus to meue from his Whyt poynt,
he hath the nature of the wokes of the right side & of the
left for to goo black or Whyt. & also he may goo vnto the
Whyt poynt Where the gardes of the cyte ben sette / & in this
poynt he hath the nature of a knyght / & these two maners
of meuyng aperteyneth other While to the quene / & for as
moche as the kyng & the quene that he conioyned to gedre
by mariage ben one thyng as one fleshe & blood / therefore
may the kyng meue on the left side of his propre poynt al
so wel as he were sette in the place of the quene Whiche is
black, & When he goeth right in maner of the wok onely &
hit happen that the aduersary be not couerd in ony poynte in
the second signe the kyng may not passe from his black
poynt vnto the thyrde signe / & thus he sortyseth the nature
of the wok on the right side and left side vnto the place of
the knyghtes , And for to goo right tofore in to the Whyt
poynt tofore the marchaunt . and the kyng also sortyst the
nature of the knyghtes When he goeth on the right side in
two maners . for he may put hym in the boorde space tofore
the phisicien/ & in the black space tofore the tauerner . & on
the other side he goeth in to other two places in like wyse
that is tofore the smyth / and the notarye / & thus as in
goynge out first in to four poyntes he sortyth the nature
of knyghtes , And also the kyng sortyseth the nature
of the alphys at hys fyrst yssue in to two places . and
he may goo on bothe sides vnto the Whyte place boorde /
that one tofore the smyth on that one side / and that other

tofore the tauerne on that other side. al these pssues hath
 the kyng out of his propre place of his owne Vertu Whan
 he begynneth to meue. but Whan he is ones meuyd fro his
 propre place. he may not meue but in to one space or poynt
 and so from one to another / And than he forsaketh the na
 ture of the comyn peple / And thus by good right he hath
 in hym self the nature of al. For al the Vertue that is
 in the members comyth of the heed / And al meuyng of
 the body. The begynnyngh and tye cometh from the herte
 And al the dygnite that the subgettis haue by excausion
 and continual apparence of theyr meuyng and pssue.
 the kyng deteyneth hit and is attribued to hym. the Vic
 torye of the knyghtes. the prudence of the Iuges. the
 auctorite of the Byschops or legates. the contynence of the
 quene / the concorde and Vnitye of the people, so ben alle
 these thynges ascribed vnto the honour & Worschyp of the
 kyng. in his pssue Whā he meuyth first / the iij signe tofore
 the peple he neuer excedyth. for in the third nombre alle
 maner of states begynne to meue. For the trynary nom
 bre contyneth thre parties. Whiche make a perfect nom
 bre. For a trynary nombre hath i ij iij. Whiche ioyned
 to geder maketh Vj / Which is the first perfite nombre. and
 signifieth in this place Vj persones named that constitu
 te the perfeccion of a royaume. that is to wete the kyng the
 quene Iuges knyghtes Byschops or legates. & the comyn
 peple. & therefore the kyng ought to begynne in his first me
 uyngh of iij poyntes. that he shewe perfeccion of tye as wel
 in hym self as in other. after the kyng begynneth to meue
 he may lede With hym the quene / after y maner of his issue
 k iij

For Why the quene foloweth vnto two angular places
after the maner of the alpbyn/ and to a place Indirecte
in the maner of a wolk in to the blacke poynt tofore the
phisicien / herin is signefied that the Women may not me
ue nether make bowes of pilgrimage ner of Biage With
out the Wyllle of theyr husbondes . For yf a Woman had
auoied any thyng . her husbond spynng ' and agayn say
eng . He may not yelde ner accomplishe her bove . yf the
husbond Wyl goo any Where / he may wel goo Wythout her
And yf so be that the husbond Wyl haue her Wyth hym He
is bounden to folowe hym . And by reason . for a man is
the seede of a Woman , & not conuerso , For as to suche
thynges as longe to matrimonye . they ben like / but the
man hath power ouer her body / and so hath not the Woman
ouer his ' and therefore When the kynge begynneth to meue
the quene may folowe . and not alwey When he meueth
it is no nede the kynge to meue . for Why four the first sig
nes he Wyth in the symptes and space of the wyame ,
and vnto the thyrde poynt the kynge may meue at his
first meuyng out of his propre place . and When he passyth
the fourth signe he goeth out of his wyame / And yf he
passe one poynt lete hym bebaare , For the persone of a
kynge is accounted more than a thousand of other . For
When he exposith hym vnto the perilles of bataylle . hit is
necessarpe that he goo attempourly and sly / for yf he be
taken or deed or ellys Includid and sette by . alle the
strengthes of al other faylle and al is synysshed and lost
And therefore he hath nede to goo and meue Wysely . and
also therefore he may not meue but one poynt after hys

first meynng but Where that euer he goo foreward or bac
ward or on that one side or on that other or ellis corner ;
Wyse + he may neuer approche his aduersarpe the kyng ner ;
rez than in the thyrd poynt / And therefore the kynges in
bataylle ought neuer tapproche one nygh that other , And
also When the kyng hath goon so ferre that al hys men
he lost / than he is sole, and than he may not endure long
When he is brought to that extremyte / and also he ought
to take hede that he stonde not so that a knyght or another
sayth chert wolk . than the kyng loseth the wolk / That
kyng is not Wel fortunat that lefith hym to Whom his
auctonite delegate aperteyneth / Who may do the nedes of the
royame yf he be pryncyd taken or deed? Was pryncfour
of al the royame , he shal bere a sacke on his heed? that
is sette in a cite , And? al they that Were therin ben ta ;
ken in captuyte and? sette by .

The second chapitre of the fourth booke of the quene
 & how she yssueth out of her place capitulo tercio



Then the quene Whiche is accompanied vnto the
 W kyng begynneth to meue from her propre place / she
 goeth in double manere / that is to witte as an alphyu
 When she is black, she may goo on the right side & come
 in to the poynt tofore the notarye, & on the left side in the
 black poynt and come tofore the gardes of the cite. and
 hit is to witte that she forsaketh in her self the nature in iiij
 maners first on the right side tofore the alphyu. secondly
 on the left side Where the knyght is. & thirde Indirectly
 vnto the black poynt tofore the phisician. And the reason

Why / is for as moche as she hath in her self by grace / the
auctorite that she workes haue by compsaion . for she may
gyue and graunte many thynges to her subgettis graciously
oufly / and thus also ought she to haue parfyt wysedom
as the alphys haue Whiche ben Judges . as hit is sayd
aboue in the chappytre of the quene . and she hath not the
nature of knyghtes . and hit is not fittynge ne couenable
thyng for a Woman to goo to bataylle for the frugylite &
feblenes of her / and therefore holdeth she not the Wape in
her draught as the knyghtes doon . & When she is meyned
ones out of her place she may not goo but for one poynte
to another . and yet couertly Whether hit be forwarde or bac
ward / takynge or to be taken . and here may be appd Why
the quene goeth to the bataylle Wyth the kynge / certynly
it is for the solace of hym . and ostensaion of loue / And
also the peple desire to haue successyon of the kynge / and
therefore the tartaris haue their Wyues in to the felde With
hem yet hit is not good that men haue their Wyues Wyth
hem / but that they abyde in the cyties or Wythyn their
owne termys . For When they been out of their cyties &
symptis they ben not sure / but holden suspecte / they shold
be shamefast and holde al men suspect. For dyna Jacobs
doughter as longe as she Was in the holde of her brethern
she kept her vrgynyte, but assone as she Wente for to see
the straunge reayons / anone she Was corrupt & defyled
of the sone of siche / Seneka sayth that the Women that
haue euyl wysages ben gladly not chaste / but their corage
despyeth gladly the compaignie of men / and solinus sayth
that no bestys femelles desire to be touched of their males

When they haue concayped / except Woman Whiche ought to
 be a beste resonable . and in this was she lesse her myson/
 & sime Witnessith the same . & therefore in the olde lawe.
 the faders had dyuerse Wyues and ancellis to thende When
 one Was childe . they myght take another . they ought
 to haue the bysage enclined for tescelle the sight of the
 men . that by the sight they be not meuyd With Inconty-
 nence & dyffame of other, and oude sayth that there ben
 some that how Wel that they escheue the dede . yet haue
 they grete ioye When they be praped / & therefore ought the
 good Women fle the curiosities & places Where they myght
 falle in blame & noyse of the peple.

The fourth chapptre of the fourth booke of the issuyng
 of the alphyu capitulo quarto



The manere and nature of the draught of the al-
t phyn is such that he that is black in his propre sie-
ge is sette on the right side of the kyngh / and he that is
Whyt is sette on the left side / and ben callyd and named
black and Whyt / but for no cause that they be so in sub-
staunce of her propre colour , but for the colour of the pla-
ces in Whiche they ben sette / and alWey he they black or
Whyt Whan they ben sette in theyr places . the alphyn on
the right side . goyngh out of his place to the right syde
Ward cometh tofore the labourer / and hit is reason that
the Juge ought to defende and kepe the labourers and pos-
sessyons Whiche ben in his Jurisdycion by al right and
lawe / And also he may goo on the left side to the Boyde
place tofore the phisicien / for like as the physiciens haue
the charge to hele the Infirmytees of a man . In like wise
haue the Juges charge to appese all stryues & contencions
and reduce vnto Ryght . and to punyshe and correcte cau-
ses crymynels . the left alphyn hath also two Wayes fro
his owne place one toward the right side vnto the black
space Boyde tofore the marchaunt . For the marchauntes
nede ofte tymes councyl and ben in debate of questyons
Whiche must nedes be determyned by the Juges / and that
other yssue is vnto the place tofore the xphauldes & that
is by cause that ofte tymes amonge them falle noyses ,
dyscencions thefte & manslaughter , Wherfore they ought
to be punysshed by the Juges / & ye shal vnderstonde that
the alphyn goeth alWey cornerWise fro the thyrde poynt to
the thyrde poynt , keepyngh alWey his owne siege / for yf he
be black / he goeth alWey black and yf he be Whyt he goeth

alWey Whyte / the yssue or goyngh cornerly or angularly
spgnesyth cautele or subtiltye / Whiche Iuges ought to
haue . The thre poyntes setoken thre thynges that the Ju
ge ought to attende . a iuge ought to further rightful and
trewe causes . secondly he ought to geue trewe counceyl / &
thyrdsly he ought to geue & Iuge rightful sentences after
the allegaunces . & neuer to goo fro the rightwysnes of
the lawe / and it is to bete that the alphyng goeth in by
draughtes al the tablier woude about / and that he cometh
agayn in to his owne place . and hold he hit that al reason
and good perfeccion shold be in a kyngh / yet ought hit al
so specially be in them that ben counceyllours of the kyngh
and the quene . and the kyngh ought not to do ony thyng
doubtouse til he haue appoynted counceyl of his Iuges and of
the sages of the royaume / and therefore ought the Iuge to
be parfaytly Wyse and sage as wel in sciens as in good
maners . and that is signefied When they meue from the
poyntes in to thre / for the sixte nombre by Whiche they goo
al thescheker . and brynge hem agayn in to her propre
place in suche Wyse that the ende of her moeyng is conioyn
ned agayn to the begynnyngh of the place fro Whens they
departed / & therefore hit is callyd a parfayt moeyng .

The fiftthe chappytre of the fourth tractate of the meynynge
of the knyghtes capitulo quinto



After the issue of the alphys we shal deuyse to you
a the yssue and the moeyng of the knyghtes / and
we say that the knyght on the right side is Whyt, and on
the left side black. & the yssue & moeyng of hem bothe is
in one maner. Whan so is that the knyght on the right side
is Whyt / the left knyght is black / the moeyng of hem is
suche. that the Whyt may goo in to the space of the alphys
as hit appereth of the knyght on the right syde that
is Whyt / And hath thre yssues from his propre place /
one on his right side in the place tofore the labourer.
l j

and hit is Wel reson that Whan the labourer and husbond
man hath laboured the felde . the knyghtes ought to
kepe them . to the entente that they haue bitaillles for them
self & theyr horses / The second yssue is that he may meue
hym vnto the black space tofore the notarpe or draper for
he is bounden to deffende and kepe them that make his
bestementes & couertours necessarpe vnto his body . The
thyrde yssue is that he may goo on the left syde in to the
place tofore the marchaunt Whiche is sette tofore the kyng
the Whiche is black . and the reson is for as moche as he
ought and is holden to deffende the kyng as Wel as his
owne persone / Whan he passyth the first draught . he may
goo four weyes / and Whan he is in the myddes of the ta-
blez he may goo in to viij places sondry / to Whiche he may
renne / and in like wyse may the left knyght goo Whiche
is black and goeth out of his place in to Whyt / And in
that maner goeth the knyght fightyng by his myght / &
groweth and multiplieth in his poyntes / and ofte tymes
by them the felde is wonne or lost / a knyghtes vertue and
myght is not knowen but by his fightyng / And in his
fightyng he doeth moche harme for as moche as his myght
extendeth in to so many poyntes / they ben in many perillis
in theyr fightyng . and Whan they escape they haue the ho-
nour of the game . & thus is hit of every man the more
wyllyngant / & the more honoured / and he that meketh hym
self ofte tymes synneth cleuest .

The sixte chappytre of the fourth tractate treateth of the
 yssue of the wokes and of her progressyon capitulo Bj



The moeuyng & yssue of the wokes Whiche ben by-
 t capres of the kynge is suche / that the right wok is
 black & the left wok is Whyt / and Whan the chesse ben sette
 as Wel the nobles as the comyn peple first in theyr propre
 places the wokes by theyr propre vertu haue no Waye to
 yssue but yf hit be maad to them by the nobles or comyn
 peple / For they ben enclosed in theyr propre sieges .
 And the reason Why is suche . that for as moche as they
 ben bycapres lieutenantes or comyssioners of the kyng
 theyr auctorite is of none effect tofore they yssue out ,

And that they haue begonne to enhaunce their offyce for
as longe as they be Wythin the palays of the kyng . so
longe may they not vse ne execute theyr comyssyon . but
anone as they yssue they may vse theyr auctorite / and ye
shal vnderstande that theyr auctorite is grete / For they re
presente the persone of the kyng / and therefore Where the
tablier is boorde they may renne alle the tablier . in lyke
Wyse as they goon thurgh the royaume / and they may goo
as Wel Whyt as black as Wel on the right side and lyfte
as foreward and backward / and as fer may they renne as
they fynde the tablier boorde . Whether hit be of his aduer
saries as of his owen felawshyp . and When the rook is
in the myddel of the tablier / he may goo Whiche Way he Wyl
in to four right signes on euery syde . and it is to bete
that he may in no Wyse goo corner Wyse / but alwey right
forth goyngh and comyngh as afore is said . Wherefore al
the subgetis of the kyng as Wel good as euyl ought to
knowe by theyr moeuyng that the auctorite of the Ky
nges and comyssyoners ought to be kept trewe right Wyse
and Juste / and ye shal vnderstande that they be stronge
and vertuous in bataylle . for the Who wokes onely may
wynquyssh a kyng theyr aduersarye and take hym . and
take from hym his lyf and his royaume / and this Was
doon When Cyrus kyng of perse and Darius kyng of
medes slewe balthazar and took his royaume from hym .
Whiche Was newe to enphomdach vnder Whom this
game Was founden .



The vij chappitre of the fourth booke of the pssue of
the comyn peple capitulo septimo

Ne pssue and one moeyng aperteyneth vnto all
o the comyn peple / for they may goo fro the poynt they
stande in at the first meuyng vnto the thirde poynt right
forth tofore them / and Whan they haue so doon they may
afterward meue nomore but fro one poynt right forth in
to another . And they may neuer retorne backward . and
thus goyng forth fro poynt to poynt they may gete by
vertue and strengthe . that thyng that the other nobles
fynde by dygnite / and yf the knyghtes and other no-
bles helpe hem that they come to the firthest signe tofore
them Where theyz aduersaries Were sette they requyre the
dygnite that the quene hath graunted to her by grace /

For yf ony of them may come to thys sayd signe yf he be
Whyt as labourer draper, phisicien. or kepar of the cite been
they receyve suche dignyte as the quene hath / for they haue
goten hit / & than retornynge agayn homeward / they may
go like as it is sayd in the chappitre of the quene ' and yf
ony of the mabnes that be black as the smyth & the maz;
chaunt / the tauerne, & skaulde may come Without domage
in to the same bitterest signe / he shal gete by his vertu the
dynyte of the black quene / & ye shal vnderstonde' When
thys comune peple meue right forth in her signe / & fynde
ony noble persone or of the peple of their aduersaries sette
in the poynt on ony side tofore hym / In that corner poynte
he may take his aduersarye Whether hit be on the right side
or on the left / & the cause is that the aduersaries ben sus;
picious that the comyn peple lye in a wayte to robbe her
goodes or to take her perones Whā they go byward right
forth .and therefore he may take in the right angle tofore
hym one of his aduersaries / as he had espied his persone
and in the right angle as robber of his goodes & Whether
hit be goynge forwārd or retornynge fro black to Whyt, or
Whyt to black the mabne must alwey goo in his right sig
ne' & alwey take in the corner that he fyndeth in his Waye
but he may not goo on neyther side til he hath been in the
fardest signe of the schequer' & that he hath taken the nature
of the draughtes of the quene / & than he is a fierz .and
than he may goo on al sides cornerwise fro poynt to poynt
onely as the quene both fightynge & talkynge Whom he fyn
deth in his Waye . And When he is thus comen vnto the
place Where the nobles his aduersaries Were sette he shal

he made Whit fiers and black fiers / after the poynte that
he is in / & there taketh he the dygnyte of the quene, & alle
these thynges may appere to them that beholden the playe
of the chesse . and ye shal vnderstonde that no noble man
ought to haue despyte of the comyn peple . for hit hath been
ofte tymes seen . that by their vertu and wytte / dyuerce of
them haue comen to right hygh & grete astate as popes .
bysshops . emperours and kynges . as we haue in the hysto
rye of dauid that was made kyng of a shepheard and one
of the comyn peple & of many other / and in lyke wise we
rede of the contrarie , that many noble men haue been
brought to myserye by theyr default , as of gyges whiche
was right riche of landes and of richessis . & was so proud
that he went and demaunded of the god apollo . yf there
were ony in the world more riche and more happy than he
was / and than he herde a boys that yssued out of the
fosse or pitte of the sacrifices / that a peple named agalans
sophide whiche were poure of goodes & riche of courage was
more acceptable than he whiche was kyng / & thus the god
apollo allowed more the sappyence and the surete of the
poure man & of his litel meyne / than he dyd the astate
and the persone of gyges ne of his riche mayne / and hit
is more to allowe a tytyl thyng seurely purseyued thenne
moche good taken in feze and drede / and for as moche as
a man of lowe signage is by his vertu enhaunsed . so
moche the more he ought to be glorious and of good reno
mee . Virgyle that was borne in lombardy of the nacion
of mantua and was of lowe and symple signage . yet he
was souerayn in wysedom and sciencē & the most noble

of al the poyntes . of Whom the renomee Was / is and shal
 he duryng the World . so hit happend that another poete
 appd and demaunded of hym Wherfore he sette not the
 Ias of Homer in his booke . and he answered that he shold be
 of right grete strengthe and force that shold plucke the
 clubbe out of hercules handes / and thys suffiseth the state
 and draughtis of the comyn peple /

The viij chapptre and the last of the fourth booke of the
 epylogacion and recapitulacion of thys booke capitule viij.



Or as moche as we see and knowe that the memo-
ry of the peple is not retentive but right forgetful
Whan some here longe tales and histories which they can
not all retyne in her mynde or recorde. Therefore I have
put in this present chappitre all the thynges abovesayd as
shortly as I have coue / first this playe or game was fou-
den in the tyme of enphemerodach kyng of babilone / And
excerises the philosopher otherwyse named philometer fonde
hit / and the cause why was for the correccion of the kyng
lyke as hit apperith in thre the first chappytres. For the
sayd kyng was so tyrānous & felow that he myght suffre
no correccion / but slewe them and dyd do put hem to deeth
that correctid hym. and had than doo put to deeth many
right wyse men, than the peple being sorowful and right
euyl plesid of this euyl tyf of the kyng prayed and re-
quyred the philosopher. that he wold repyse and telle the
kyng of his folye, and than the philosopher answered that
he shold be dede yf he so dyde. and the peple sayd to hym,
certes thou oughtest sōner wyll to dye to thende that thy
renome myght come to the peple. than the tyf of the kyng
shold cōtinue in euyl for lacke of thy couail. or by faulte
of reprehension of the. or thou darist not doo & slewe / that
thou sayest. & Whan the philosopher herde this he promysid
to the peple that he wold put him in deuoyr to correct hym
And thenne he began to thynke hym in what maner he
myght escape the deeth and kepe to the peple his promesse
And thenne thus he maad in this maner and ordeyn-
ned the eschequer of lytiij poyntes as is afore sayde /
And dyd do make the forme of chequers of gold & siluer

in humayn figure after the facons & formes as We haue
dyuyfid & shewid to you tofore in theyr chappitres / & ordey
ned the moeyng & thestate after that, it is said in the
chappitres of theschessys / & When the phylosopher had thus
ordeyned the playe or game . & that hit plesid alle them
that sawe hit , on a tyme as the philosopher played on hit
the kyngh came and sawe hit and desired to playe at
this game / And thenne the phylosopher began tosigne
and teche the kyngh the scienc of the playe and the
draughtes / Saying to hym first how the kyngh ought
to haue in hym self ppte delonayre and rightwysnes ,
as hit is sayd tofore in the chappitre of the kyngh / And
he enseyned to hym the astate of the quene and what
maners she ought to haue / And thenne of the alphyngs
as counceyllours and Iuges of the rogame /
And after the nature of the knyghtes / how they ought
to be Wyse . trewe and curtopes and al the ordre of knyght
hode / And than after the nature of the bycayrs and
Rookes as hit apperyth in theyr chappitre / And after
thys how the comyn people ought to goo ech in his offyce
And how they ought to serue the nobles . And When
the philosopher had thus taught and enseyned the
kynge and his nobles by the maner of the playe and
had reprehendyd hym of his euyl maners . The kyngh
demaunded hym vpon payn of deth to telle hym the cause
Why and Wherefore he had made and founden thys playe /
and game , And What thyng meuyd hym thereto / and than
the phylosopher constrayned by feze & drede answered . that
he had promysed to the people Whych he had requyrd hym

that he shold correcte and reuise the kyng of his euyl vi
ces / but for as moche as he doubted the death and had seen
that the kyng dyd do flee the sages & wyse men that were
so hardy to blame hym of his vyces . he was in grete an
guyfthe and sorowe , how he myght fynde a maner to cor
recte and reprehende the kyng . and to saue his owen lyf
and thus he thought longe and studyed that he fond this
game or playe . Whiche he hath do sette forth for to amende
and correcte the lyf of the kyng and to chaunge his ma
ners . and he adioyned wyth al that he had founden this
game for so moche as the lordes and nobles haboundyngh
in delices and richessis . and enioyng temporel pees shold
eschewe ydelnes by playeng of this game . and for to geue
hem cause to leue her pensifnes and sorowes . in auysyngh
and studyeng this game ' and when the kyng had herd al
these causes ' he thought that the philosopher had founde a
good maner of correccion . & than he thankyd hym greatly
and thus by thensignement and lernyngh of the philoso
pher . he chaunged his lyf his maners and alle his euyl
condicions ' and by this maner hit happend that the kyng
that tofore tyme had ben vyacious and disordynate in his
hynggh was made Juste and Vertuous / dekonayr / gra
uous and ful of Vertues vnto al peple . And a man that
hynggh in this world without Vertues lyueth not as a
man but as a best . Therne late euery man of what
condycion he be that redyth or heyth this titel booke redde +
take thereby ensauple to amende hym +

Explicit per Capton.

separated by a space, the width of one square, and generally left blank, which is variously called *kyai-ho* (=boundary river), *huang-ho* (=yellow river), and *t'ien-ho* (=celestial river, the Milky Way), and commonly by English writers the 'river'. As for all practical purposes the river is merely an additional row of squares, the board is practically one of 8×9 squares. Four squares in the centre of the two opposite ends of the board, viz. two on the outer row and the two on the second row immediately before them, are considered as forming special areas, and the diagonals of these areas are drawn for the purpose of defining them, and the resulting square of nine points is called *kyu-kung* or the 'nine castle'. Western writers have wavered between the terms 'palace' (Culin), 'camp' (Wilkinson), and 'fort' (Cox). The squares are not coloured, and the board is generally made of paper and destroyed at the end of the game. The pieces are placed upon the intersections of the lines instead of on the squares as in most varieties of chess, so that the board becomes one of 9×10 , or 90 stations. The chessmen consist of circular disks of wood, ivory, or other convenient material, all alike in pattern, size, and colour. The names of the several pieces are inscribed upon the upper face of the disk, in two colours generally described as red and black, but in ivory sets the black is really blue, while in wooden sets yellow replaces red, and brown black. The favourite colour is red, the choice of which abandons the right to play first: 'he who takes the red does not take the first move.'

The names and power of move of the Chinese pieces²⁰ are exhibited in the following table:

No.	Names of Chessmen. ²¹				Power of Move.	Position.	Equivalent.
	Chinese Ideogram.	Canton dialect.	Mandarin dialect.	Translation.			
I. PIECES CONFINED TO THE NINE-CASTLE.							
1	將 師 士	tséung	tsiang	General	One step vertically or horizontally	e1	K
		sut ²²	shwai	Governor		e10	
2, 3		sz'	shí	Counsellor	One step diagonally	d1, f1 (d10, f10)	Q

²⁰ Prof. Rapson calls my attention to the fact that there are three bronze Chinese chessmen among the Central Asiatic antiquities in the Coin Room of the British Museum. These

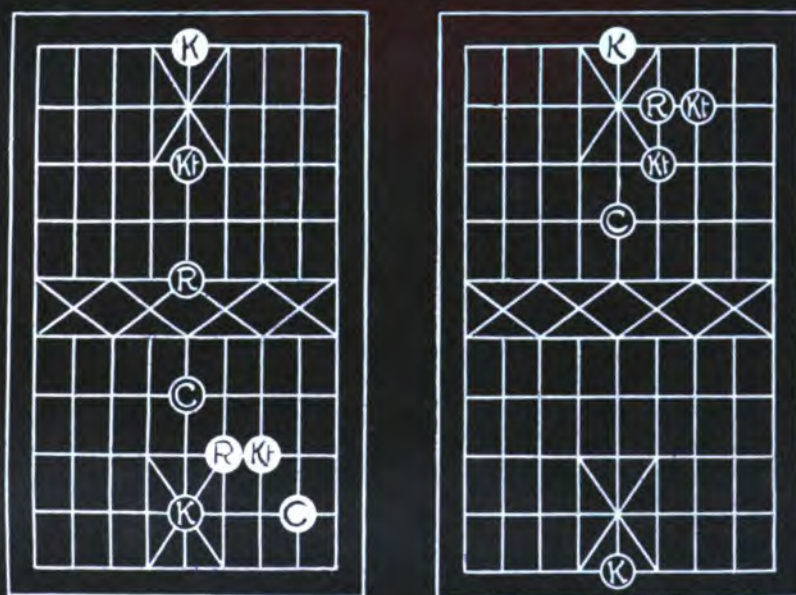


Bronze Chessmen in the British Museum.

form part of a collection of miscellaneous antiquities made by Mr. G. Macartney, the Special Assistant for Chinese Affairs to the Resident in Kashgar. He was told that all came from

perhaps make the power of this piece clearer if its power at the commencement of the game be examined. The Cannon on b3 can move without taking as far as b7 forwards, b2 backwards, as far as g3 and a3 laterally, just as if it were a Rook or Chariot. It can also capture the Kt on b10 which is 'screened' by the Cannon on b8. The capture is effected by removing the Kt on b10, and placing the Cannon on that square. Any piece, red or black, can act as 'screen'.

A General is in check (*siang*), (1) when it is under attack by any piece, and could—but for its immunity from capture—have been taken on the following move if nothing were done to remove the attack; (2) when the two Generals face one another upon the same file with no intervening men. When



Either player can give triple check. Red by Kt e9 or g9, Black by Rf2.

Red gives quadruple check by Re9.

Multiple Checks in Chinese Chess.

check is given (1) the attacking piece must be taken, or (2) the General must move out of check, or (3) the check must be covered. If none of these can be done, the General is defeated, *sz* (= dead) or *tsao liao* (= in Peking, destroyed) being the technical term. A check can always be covered, in the case of the Kt by interposing a piece at the 'angle' of its move; in the case of the Cannon either by interposing a second piece or by removing the 'screen' behind which the Cannon is attacking. The greater possibilities permitted by the variety of checks that can be covered or discovered lead to such complicated checks as triple and quadruple check.

The game is won either by checkmate or by stalemate. A player must not give perpetual check; in such a case he must vary his move.



in humayn figure after the facons & formes as We haue
drysſid & ſhebid to you tofore in theyr chappitres / & ordey
ned the moeyng & theſtate after that, it is ſaid, in the
chappitres of theſcheſſys / & When the phyloſopher had thus
ordeyned the playe or game . & that hit pleaſid alle them
that ſawe hit , on a tyme as the philoſopher played on hit
the kyngh came and ſawe hit and deſired to playe at
this game / And thenne the phyloſopher began to ſigne
and teche the kyngh the ſcience of the playe and the
draughtes / Saying to hym firſt how the kyngh ought
to haue in hym ſelf ppe deſonayrte and rightwyſnes ,
as hit is ſayd tofore in the chappitre of the kyngh / And
he enſeygned to hym the aſtate of the quene and what
maners ſhe ought to haue / And thenne of the alphyas
as counayllours and Judges of the wyame /
And after the nature of the knyghtes / how they ought
to be wyſe . trewe and curtopes and al the ordze of knyght
hode / And than after the nature of the bycayrs and
Rookes as hit apperyth in theyr chappitre / And after
thys how the comyn people ought to goo eche in his offyce
And how they ought to ſerue the nobles . And When
the phyloſopher had thus taught and enſeygned the
kynge and his nobles by the maner of the playe and
had repreſendyd hym of his euyl maners . The kyngh
demaunded hym wpon payn of deeth to telle hym the cauſe
Why and Wherefore he had made and founden thys playe /
and game , And What thyng meyd hym thereto / and than
the phyloſopher conſtrayned by feze & drede answered . that
he had promysed to the people Whiche had requyrd hym

That he shold correcte and reprove the kyng of his euyl vi-
 ces / but for as moche as he doubted the deeth and had seen
 that the kyng dyd do flee the sages & wyse men that were
 so hardy to blame hym of his vices . he was in grette an-
 guysshe and sorowe , how he myght fynde a maner to cor-
 recte and reprehendre the kyng . and to saue his owen lyf
 and thus he thought longe and studyed that he found this
 game or playe . Whiche he hath do sette forth for to amende
 and correcte the lyf of the kyng and to chaunge his ma-
 ners . and he adioyned wyth al that he had founden this
 game for so moche as the lordes and nobles haloundyngh
 in delices and richessis . and enioyng temporel pees shold
 escheue ydelnes by playeng of this game . and for to gyue
 hem cause to leue her pensifnes and sorowes . in auyssyngh
 and studyng this game / and Whan the kyng had herde al
 these causes . he thought that the philosopher had founde a
 good maner of correccion . & than he thankyd hym gretely
 and thus by thensignement and lernyng of the philoso-
 pher . he chaunged his lyf his maners and alle his euyl
 condicions / and by this maner hit happend that the kyng
 that tofore tyme had ben vicious and disordynate in his
 lyuyngh was made Juste and Vertuous / dehonayr / grai-
 ou and ful of Vertues vnto al peple . And a man that
 lyueth in this world without Vertues lyueth not as a
 man but as a best . Therne late euery man of what
 condycion he be that redyth or heareth this litel book rede .
 take thereby ensauple to amende hym .

Explicit per Capton.